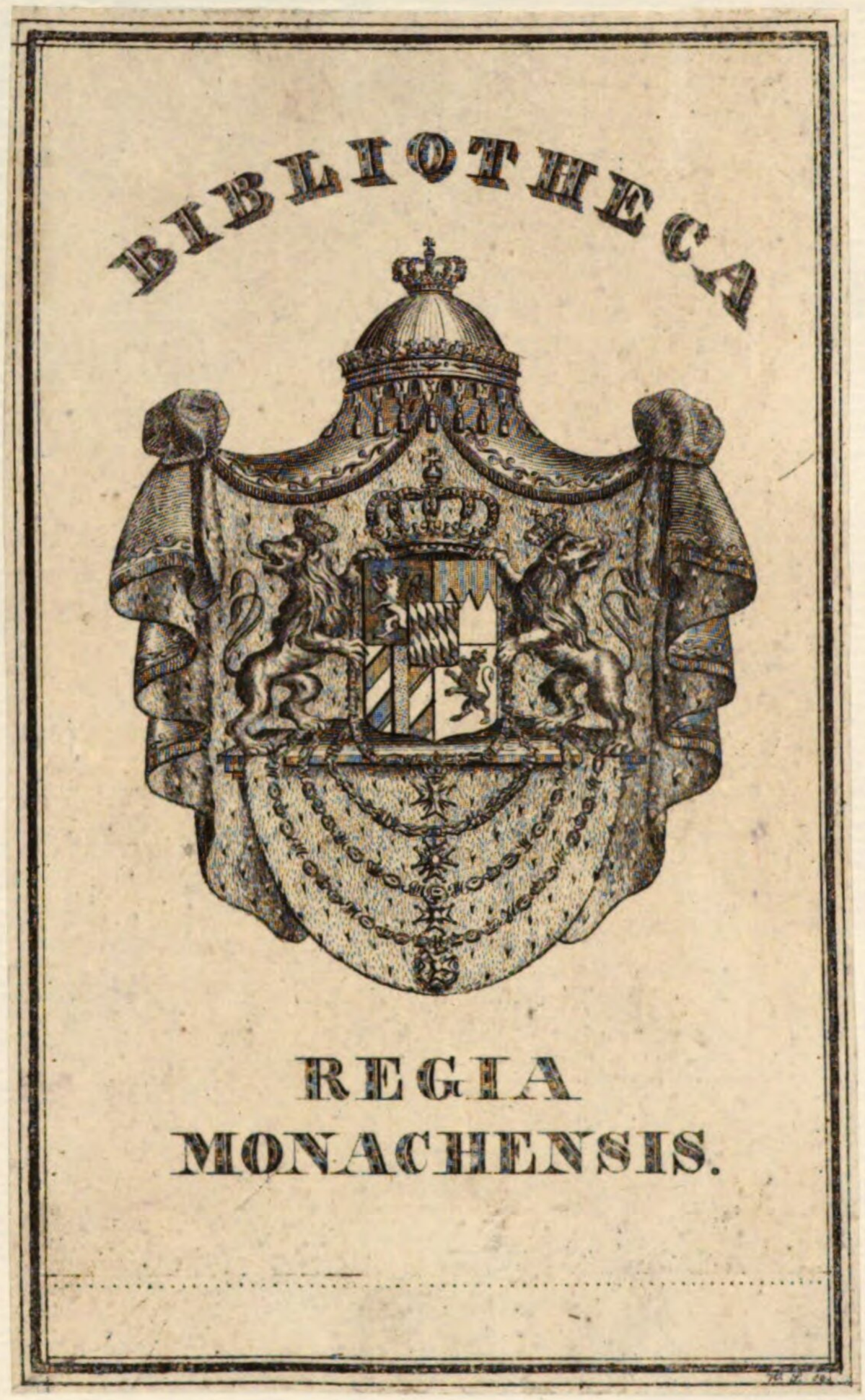
4° A. gr. b. 1316



<366290884700l7 S

<366290884700l7

Bayer. Staatsbibliothek

4° A. gr. b. 1316

Xenophon

(Kasten 2° A. gr. b. 1127 g)

6 24

ILLUSTRATIONS,

(CHIEFLY GEOGRAPHICAL,)

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE EXPEDITION OF CYRUS, &c.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

To face the Title Page

N.o I.

A General View of the EXPEDITION of the *YOUNGER* CYRUS, *TO* BABYLONIA: *And the* RETREAT of the TEN THOUSAND *To* TREBISOND & LYDIA.

The Expedition *commences at* Sardis, *&* the Retreat *ends at* Parthenium.

10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 150
Geographic Miles

10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
Parasangas of Xenophon, in direct distance

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 15
Marches, in direct distance

28 Longitude East from Greenwich 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50

Published according to Act of Parliament by James Rennell 28 Oct.r 1815

J. Walker Sculp.

ILLUSTRATIONS,

(CHIEFLY GEOGRAPHICAL,)

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE EXPEDITION OF CYRUS,

FROM SARDIS TO BABYLONIA;

AND THE

RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND GREEKS,

FROM THENCE TO TREBISONDE, AND LYDIA.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING AN

ENQUIRY INTO THE BEST METHOD OF IMPROVING THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE ANABASIS, &c.

EXPLAINED BY THREE MAPS.

"Περι τε ηδη ὁρωμενε, σφισι αυτοις αξιοντες πεποιθεναι· και εν αυτῳ τῳ αμυνασθαι και παθειν, μαλλον ἡγησαμενοι η τῳ ενδοντες σωζεσθαι."

(Thucydides, B. III. Oration of Pericles.)

"For surmounting dangers before their eyes, they confided in their own strenuous exertions, preferring resistance with death, to safety with submission."

(Dr. Gillies.)

BY JAMES RENNELL,

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETIES OF LONDON AND EDINBURGH; MEMBER OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF PARIS, AND OF THE IMPERIAL ACADEMY OF ST. PETERSBURGH; AND FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF GOTTINGEN.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY W. BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW, ST. JAMES'S;

AND SOLD BY G. AND W. NICOL, BOOKSELLERS TO HIS MAJESTY,

PALL-MALL.

1816.

103. D.

BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
MONACENSIS

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM WYNDHAM GRENVILLE,

LORD GRENVILLE,

BARON GRENVILLE, OF WOTTON UNDER BERNEWOOD, IN THE COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM;

ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL, IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND;

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD; A TRUSTEE OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM; AND ALSO OF THE CHARTER-HOUSE; AND ONE OF THE ELDER BRETHREN OF THE TRINITY-HOUSE.

My Lord,

When I solicited the honour of inscribing this Work, with Your Lordship's name, I felt myself actuated by two inducements: by gratitude, because it is to your Lordship's influence, that I owe the means of sending it forth to the Public: and no less by a sense of propriety; for no one within the limits of my observation, is so well qualified to decide on its merits: such is your Lordship's extensive and intimate knowledge of the subject, which it professes

to illustrate. So fully, indeed, am I impressed with this sentiment, that I have sometimes doubted the prudence of thus placing the imperfections of my Work, so near the eye of acute and judicious criticism. I venture, however, to hope, that as the ANABASIS is so deservedly a favourite subject with your Lordship, you will regard with indulgence, such errors as have arisen, in an attempt to render it an object still more worthy of your attention.

The Improvements made in the Geography of the Countries, connected with the present Work, have chiefly grown out of the labours of ingenious and enterprising Travellers of the present age; actuated, no doubt, by that spirit of emulation, inculcated by those magnificent plans of discovery, and of geographical improvement, which add splendour to the commencement of the reign of our MOST AMIABLE, and MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN: and which have been continued and extended, until we have no longer any doubts, respecting the general distribution of the habitable parts of the terraqueous globe. Nor has HIS MAJESTY's most gracious attention been

confined to the more prominent features of discovery: since the geography of the tract in question, though a minor part of the great original design, was deemed worthy of His Majesty's most gracious and liberal aid; when submitted to his notice, by your Lordship's eminent zeal for the promotion and extension of knowledge and science, beneficial to humanity.

I am, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's obliged,

and faithful humble Servant,

J. RENNELL.

London,
June 4, 1816.

PREFACE.

THE History of the EXPEDITION of CYRUS, and the RETREAT of the TEN THOUSAND, engaged very early, the attention of the author. But, at that period, the geography of Western Asia was so little known in detail, that only a few points, in the whole route of the Greeks, had been sufficiently ascertained. This is fully exemplified by the maps that are prefixed to the translations of Messrs. Spelman and Larcher; although that of the latter, is incomparably the best of the two. Nor is the one made by M. D'Anville, for M. Rollin's Ancient History, on the whole, superior, if equal, to that in M. Larcher's book.*

In the history of an Expedition, in which the matter of the narrative, so mainly depends on the detail of its geography, the want of such a delineation as will serve to explain the several movements, not only renders the history in some places obscure,

* The geography of Asia Minor, in particular, was extremely defective, down to the present times. M. D'Anville had contracted its breadth, so as to make it a whole degree of latitude less than the truth; which, of course, occasioned a derangement of the whole interior of it. And the countries, through which the route of the Ten Thousand lay, were worse described than the rest. Besides the mere consideration of latitude and longitude, the descriptive geography, in general, was extremely faulty; but which, however, is not to be placed to the account of want of judgment, in M. D'Anville; but to the deficiency of good materials.

but deprives the reader of a criterion, by which a trial might oftentimes be made, of its consistency and truth. But the ANABASIS was read, and its geographical details either taken for granted, or referred to fanciful delineations, made up from the text itself: that is, for want of the actual geography, a geography was *invented;* in order that the mind might have a sensible object to refer to, in the act of tracing the progress of the armies. So that this admirable piece of military history, not only lost a part of its value, through the want of proper explanations; but also failed to produce all the collateral advantages, that might have been derived from it, in respect of the improvement of ancient geography.

A reader of modern military history, would regard as very imperfect, a work which should be found deficient in the necessary details of geography. In books of travels, the defect would be felt still more.* Now the ANABASIS combines with the character of a military history, that of a book of travels likewise; since more than seven months, out of the fourteen, that elapsed, between the time of the departure of the Greeks from *Sardis*,

* Of this, we had a convincing proof, a very few years ago, in Mr. Patrick Gass's account of the Expedition for exploring the North American continent, in the line of the river Missouri; by the captains Lewis and Clarke: and to which account, not a scrap of tabular geography was annexed. But the account since published by authority, and now before the public, having the proper geographical details, proves how little this part of the subject had been understood, from the text of Mr. Gass's book.

This expedition, considered in respect of the extensive field, that it has already opened to human industry; and much more, as exploring ground, on which nations, yet unborn, are to be planted; (and which, although occupying the heart of a continent, will possess the means of a direct communication with the ocean); appears to be the most splendid of all the inland discoveries of modern times.

and their arrival at the port of embarkation, at *Cotyora*, were employed in the act of marching: in which they went over about 3200 British miles of ground; and that, not in *marching* and *counter-marching*, within the same country, as happens in ordinary campaigns; but generally in the act of advancing. Besides which distance, they afterwards went 500 miles more, to *Byzantium;* partly by navigating the Black Sea; partly by marching along its borders.

It will be no matter of surprise, that the present maps of the route of the Ten Thousand, should differ widely from all former ones; when it is considered, what very great improvements have been made, in the geography of Western Asia, during the latter parts of the last century, and the beginning of the present one: a period, perhaps, beyond all others, favorable to geography, in every quarter of the globe: since some of the greatest efforts of skill, as well as of courage and perseverance, have been combined with the best aids of science, and the most useful improvements in art; in order to procure materials for it.

The first dawn of hope, of improving the geography of the ANABASIS, by actual observations, appeared in consequence of an application made by the author, to the celebrated traveller, M. Niebuhr, in 1792; requesting some information relative to *Asia Minor*, and the passage of *Mount Taurus*. The answer, which was favourable beyond expectation, produced, amongst much other valuable information, a map of M. Niebuhr's route, through the southern parts of Asia Minor; laid down

from his own notes and remarks, and corrected in the latitudes by celestial observations.* This route, for the most part, went over the same ground with that taken by the younger Cyrus and Xenophon: and although their route across Mount Taurus, was different from that taken by M. Niebuhr; yet it appeared that this latter, was the one taken by Menon, on occasion of his escorting the Cilician Queen, to Tarsus. Again, the enquiries made by M. Niebuhr, produced some information respecting certain points, connected with the Route of Cyrus; over the same chain of mountains. And besides this, much information was obtained respecting the Gulf of *Issus* and *Mount Amanus;* and of the strait lying between them. These particulars, indeed, applied not only to the subject in hand, but also cleared up some doubts concerning the intricate subject of the *Passes* of *Cilicia* and *Syria*, in general; applicable to the warfare between Alexander and Darius.

A second important document, intimately connected with the present subject, but relating to a different quarter; appeared not long afterwards. This was a Journal, containing the observations of Mr. Sullivan,† along the eastern bank of the river Tigris, between Jezirah-ibn-Omar and Mosul: being a considerable portion of the ground, over which the Ten

* This was an engraved copy of one of the maps, designed for a third volume of M. Niebuhr's Travels; and which included his return home from Syria, through Asia Minor. But a fire, which broke out in the palace at Copenhagen, destroying all the copper plates intended for it, the work has never yet appeared.

† The Right Honourable John Sullivan, M. P. to whom the author is also indebted for various communications of the most useful kind.

Thousand marched, during the early, and most arduous part of their retreat, between the *Zabatus* river, and the *Carduchian* mountains. And, in fact, the 14 marches made by them, between these two points, in which they were unremittingly pursued, often surrounded, and sometimes way-laid, by the whole Persian force; constituted the whole of their warfare with the Persians, after the battle of *Cunaxa;* as they escaped from their attacks, at the end of these marches, by ascending the mountains in question. Mr. Sullivan's constant attention to the nature of the country, through which he passed, (and that, without any particular reference to the present subject; since his remarks were general); enables us, with great confidence, to fix the site of the *Battle on the Hills*, on the tenth march from the *Zabatus:* which not only forms a prominent feature, in that part of the history, but also furnishes a decided point of recognition, in the geography. The Abbé Sestini, who accompanied Mr. Sullivan, and Dr. Howell, (who traced the same ground at a different time,) afford some additional particulars; and confirm generally, the remainder.

The possession of such invaluable notices towards the illustration of the geography of the ANABASIS, encouraged the author to enquire after, and to search for, other notices. This produced a vast number of useful particulars; extremely various in their kinds, and originating from many different quarters; to recount which, would fill many pages. Some were obtained from living authorities; but many more from books of travels, and from the works of Arabian and Turkish

geographers; as also from MS. maps and journals: and, in one remarkable instance, from Diodorus Siculus. The truth is, that useful notices sometimes exist, in the hands of travellers, who regard them as mere insulated facts, of too little importance, or use, to be placed on record; although they sometimes prove indispensable links in a chain of authorities, for establishing a geographical system, or an historical connection. Others, although placed on record in books, were neglected, because it had not been discovered, that they had any bearing on, or connexion with, the subject. Thus, for instance, the country of the *Chaoi*, or *Chaonitis*, in Diodorus Siculus, may be recognized in that of *Khanoos*, or *Kanis*, a province of Armenia, described by Hajy Kalifa: and as such, by the aid of Mr. James Morier's observations, serves to point out the quarter, and almost the place, where the Ten Thousand crossed the Euphrates. But as these notices had never been *applied*, the position of that crossing place, has, in consequence, remained in utter uncertainty.

The oriental geographers, whose works have proved the most useful, not only in respect of the present subject, but of Western Asia generally, are Abu Bekir ben Behram, who compiled the Geography of *Anadoli*, during the flourishing times of the Turkish dynasty: Hajy Kalifa, who wrote the remainder of the geography of Asia Minor;* together with

* Anadoli, (or Natolia) is often taken for the whole of the Peninsula of Asia Minor; but is, however, only the *North western* half of it: the remainder passing under the names of Rûm (or Rumiyah), and Karamania.

that of *Syria*, *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, *&c.*: and finally, EDRISI and ABULFEDA. The author is indebted to the great kindness and zeal of M. Hammer, of Vienna, for translations of the two first of these authors; which have proved of the utmost service to him; and indeed, without them, his work would have been exceedingly imperfect. And hence it becomes difficult to express the great obligations due to M. Hammer from the author. The matter contained in these translations, supplies, amongst a variety of other information, the facts on which the identity of several important positions in the Anabasis, with others in modern geography, is founded: such as, the *Forum* of the *Kramians*, with Kermian (or Kutahiah); of the *Chaoi*, with the country of Khanoos; and that of M. *Theches*, with Teké or Tekman. The notices from EDRISI, are collected from the Maronite translation of the work of that Geographer: and those from ABULFEDA, from the translation made by Rieske.

The exterior form of the celebrated PENINSULA of ASIA MINOR, has now attained a near approximation to the truth, in the view of general geography. This improvement owes its existence to the labours of M. De Beauchamp, in 1797, and of Capt. Beaufort, of his Majesty's navy, in the years 1811, and 1812. The former of these gentlemen, (well known by his Travels and Observations in Persia, previous to his visit to the Euxine,) was employed by the French government, in making a tracing of the southern shores of the Euxine, from the canal of Constantinople to Trebisonde; and in taking

celestial observations for determining the longitude and parallels of certain places within that space; which is accordingly corrected in 15 different points, either by celestial observations or by chronometers. These materials have enabled the author to arrange, with success, a part of his subject, whose geography to that time, had remained in the most vague and indeterminate state possible. The chart was obtained for the author, by the kindness and good offices of M. Otto, in 1801. The observations and description of the coasts, appear in the 2d volume of the *Mémoires sur L'Égypte*.

Capt. Beaufort's chart of the southern coast of Asia Minor, (commonly called, though improperly, the coast of Karamania), is an important addition to geography; and more particularly to Hydrography; for which purpose it was chiefly undertaken, by the order of the Right Hon. Charles Yorke, during his naval administration. The survey, (now forming a magnificent atlas at the Admiralty office), has been executed in a style calculated to afford the greatest satisfaction on the perusal, and no less security to the navigator: and contains, besides the southern coast of Asia Minor, certain portions of the western coast also, in the quarters of *Iönia* and *Caria;* which had been previously surveyed by Capt. Beaufort.

A great source of derangement in the former maps, was the error of referring certain ancient cities, whose positions regulated the geography of the tracts around them, to wrong positions in modern geography. Amongst these, *Archelais Colonia*, and *Celænæ*, are remarkable instances. The former,

taken by M. D'Anville for the present Erekli, but which appears to have stood near Akserai, is in consequence placed 46 G. miles too far to the south: and entirely deranges the geography of the surrounding tract. And *Celænæ* was placed at Aufium-Kara-Hissar, when it should rather have been at Sandukly, 22 G. miles farther to the south-west. It has been rectified, in consequence of discovering that *Bayad* is doubtless the *Beudos Vetus*, of Livy; which was only 5 miles from *Synnada;* whence the connection of this latter with *Apamia Cibotus* in the Theodosian tables, necessarily leads to *Celænæ*, whose site was close to that of *Apamia*.*

M. Niebuhr's fortunate discovery of the name of the village which appears to occupy the site of ancient *Issus*, (that is *Oseler*,) throws light on all the positions around the gulph of that name:† in particular on those of the pass, named by Xenophon, the *Gates of Syria and Cilicia;* and of *Myriandrus*, whose port having been filled up with alluvial matter, has its site, at this time, at a considerable distance inland. The site of *Issus* was indeed so little understood, that M. D'Anville placed it on that of Ayasse, (the ancient *Ægeas* or *Ægææ*,) which is on the *western* side of the gulph; although *Issus* is known to have been situated near the foot of mount *Amanus*,

* The meaning of the word *Bayad* or *Bayat*, itself, is *the ancient*; according to M. Otter, Vol. I. p. 56. The ruins named Herjan are supposed to be those of *Synnada*. Dr. Pocock supposed them to be those of *Amorium*.

† The ancient towns in the Turkish empire have generally preserved their Greek names, although they may have received Turkish ones. *Oseler* appears to be the ancient Greek name of Issus, somewhat altered; whilst Karabolat appears to be the Turkish name of the same place.

which separated *Cilicia* from *Syria*, and of course must have been situated on the *eastern* side of the gulf.*

A very remarkable *detour* has been observed in the route of Cyrus and Xenophon, between *Celænæ* and *Iconium*: for after making four marches from the former place to the *Forum of the Kramians*, they were yet farther off from *Iconium*, than when they left *Celænæ*. This *detour*, however, no doubt exists from the following circumstance:

Peltæ, in the same route, lay nearly midway between *Celænæ* and the *Kramians*, (i. e. Sandukly and Kutahiah), and although it occurs nowhere in modern maps, yet it may well be taken for the *Peloti* of Edrisi; as it agrees so nearly with the position in which *Peltæ* would be looked for; which is to the *northward* of *Celænæ*. So that, as the general direction of Cyrus's route was *easterly*, whilst *Peltæ* and the *Kramians* lay northwards, the fact of the *detour* appears to be established.

And finally, we shall mention, that the remarkable fountain of *Fay*, situated in Syria, near the Euphrates, appears most evidently to be the *Daradax* of Xenophon; thus correcting a point in that part of the route, also. It was observed and described by some English gentlemen belonging to the fac-

* It is scarcely possible to conceive how such a mistake could have arisen, when Arrian describes the flanks of the Persian army, not only as *resting* on the base of the mountains of *Amanus*, but as occupying a kind of bay or recess within the base of those mountains. The positions of the right and left wings of the two armies, so often repeated, prove that Darius was on the side towards *Cilicia*; Alexander on that towards *Syria*: and the circumstances of the history shew, that the *Pinarus* river lay between *Issus* and *Syria*; although M. D'Anville supposed the contrary.

tory at Aleppo, on their return from visiting the ruins of Palmyra, in 1691.

The English translation of the ANABASIS by Mr. Spelman, has been followed, with a very few exceptions; and with a very few additions, from the French edition of M. Larcher. The latter gentleman had an opportunity of consulting some MS. copies of the original, in the king of France's library: by which some additional light is thrown on certain particulars. However, there is a striking coincidence altogether between the two translations; which gives much confidence to a person, unskilled in the language of the original.

But as it is obvious that in the translation of a large work, such as the ANABASIS, &c. the same degree of attention could not be given to the work at large, as might be afforded to a few select passages, only; the author has therefore trespassed on a friend, (who on former occasions of the like kind, had liberally assisted him,) to give him translations of passages in Xenophon and other Greek authors, in cases where much depended on a right understanding of the originals.

One of the particulars corrected in M. Larcher's translation, by means of the before-mentioned copies, is that, where the field of battle of *Cunaxa* has been described, almost universally, to have been 3060 stadia, distant from Babylon. (Lib. II. c. 5). This, in more than one of the MS copies, is 360; which agrees better with the reason of the thing; and approximates to Plutarch's statement of the distance, (in his life of Artaxerxes,) which is 500 stadia; or only differing 12 to 14

miles from the other. M. Larcher has also added in his preface and notes, some useful explanations and notices, respecting certain parts of the text of the Anabasis.

But it does not appear that there is, amongst all these copies, any variation in the wording of that very perplexing passage, which relates to the improvement of their military disposition, when formed in a *hollow square*, during the retreat:* and to the filling up of the openings in the rear, occasioned by the separation of the flanks, when forming the square anew, after coming out of a defile. (Lib. III. c. 21.) It must, therefore, be concluded, that the omissions, or corruptions, or both, to which that passage, as it now stands, appears to have been subjected, must have taken place in very early times. Nor does it appear, that the translators have generally been aware of the multiplied difficulties that arise, in the attempt to unravel the meaning of the passage; when considered practically in all its circumstances.

It is hoped that it will not be deemed too great a presumption in the author, to have attempted a solution of the difficulty, by seeking a meaning, (not from the text, but) from the apparent nature of the evils that were felt, and attempted to be remedied.

But it is even hoped that this attempt may lead to a more perfect solution of the difficulty, by inducing military men of genius

* That is, the change from an *equilateral* to an *oblong* square, or *parallelogram*; after having experienced the inconvenient form of the former; which presented too wide a front to make its way over ordinary ground.

and experience, to undertake a nice examination of the passage, as it now stands; and then to consider what the supposed circumstances of the case, would have required: for it appears to have been hitherto, too much neglected. Perhaps no season could be more propitious to such an enquiry, than the present; for surely, since Europe has been civilized, it has never possessed, at any one time, such an aggregate of military talent and skill; growing out of a course of experience, unusually protracted, but at length terminating gloriously for the cause of order, and civil liberty, against a monstrous combination, in which lawless Jacobinism, was leagued with a frightful military despotism, upheld by a fraudful usurpation. Nor need we seek for assistance, in the present case, beyond the bounds of our own proper Empire; since we possess, of our own growth, whatsoever is transcendant in the science and practice of the art Military: and which has, EVEN NOW, been manifested, in the eyes of ALL EUROPE, by OUR PART in A VICTORY, which decides the immediate, and we hope and trust, the future, moral and political state, of the CIVILIZED WORLD.

It is proper to inform the reader, that the system of geography, by which the route of the Ten Thousand is verified and explained, in the following pages, is that of an unpublished work, on the comparative geography (the Ancient with the modern), of Western Asia; in which the whole construction is entirely new.

Three maps, drawn in conformity with that system, accompany the present work; and will be explained, in the sequel.

Some may perhaps object to the apparent coarseness, of certain parts of the geographical materials: and, in consequence, to the results arising from the application and use of them. But under a deficiency of Geodosian operations, geography can only be accomplished, by a sedulous attention to every notice that can aid its purposes, in whatsoever shape it may present itself; and that, not only, in a geographical or historical form, but in any other. It must therefore of course follow, that such notices must sometimes be fallacious; at others, imperfect; and also, that certain positions can only be developed by a combination of circumstances. The materials, therefore, not admitting of nice coincidences, in point of result, general accuracy alone could be studied: so that in the relative positions of places, which are distant from each other, a difference of a few miles only, between results arising from different authorities, ought to be regarded, less as a discordance, than as a kind of virtual coincidence.

There will be found at the end of this Preface, a table of the marches and halts, of the army of Cyrus, and that of the Greeks, from Sardis, to *Babylonia;* and of the latter, from thence to *Cotyora;* which may be found useful, on occasions of reference.

It cannot be denied, that the ANABASIS, independent of its merits, arising from the grandeur of its general subject, and

the high reputation of its author; contains a great variety of incident, to recommend it.

The first part may be regarded as a *March* from *Sardis* to the field of battle, at *Cunaxa;* interspersed with intrigues, and much developement of character. In this march, the halts rather exceed the number of marching days, during the long interval of six months; in which the Greeks, probably, found themselves, (considered as soldiers in the field), generally at their ease: favoured as they were, for political purposes, by Cyrus.* His death suddenly changed their condition; for they were from that time, for nearly a month, kept in a dreadful state of suspense, respecting their future fate; whilst quartered in the *Babylonian* villages, surrounded by powerful enemies and treacherous friends, who during that interval, were preparing the means intended for their destruction. To this, succeeds three weeks of continued suspicion, whilst marching towards the *Zabatus* river; escorted by the same people, under pretence of conducting them homewards, as friends: and which ended in the treacherous massacre of their Generals, and others. Then follow three other weeks of harassing retreat, surrounded by the Persian army: but terminated by an unexpected, and almost miraculous escape from them, into the mountainous region of the *Carduchians;* where a war of a new character, employed them a week, in the

* It appears to have been in all ages, the system of Asiatic Princes, who could afford it, to retain Europeans in their military service. Alexander had more Europeans opposed to him, at the battle of *Issus*, than the British Government ever employed, at one and the same time, in the whole East.

arduous task of fighting their way through close defiles, and over craggy summits: but which, at the same time, precluded the approach of their more formidable enemy, the Persian cavalry.

Descending from the territory of this ferocious nation, they appear to have proceeded unmolested, and at their ease, during the short interval of a week, whilst marching through a part of the beautiful and plentiful country of *Western Armenia;* when the severe winter, which is experienced in the more elevated parts of that country, overtook them: and had they not obtained shelter and refreshments, during about a week, in certain villages near the summit of Mount *Ala*, beyond the Euphrates; the whole army would probably have perished, in the course of the inclement weather which then prevailed.

They were now arrived at a point, within a fortnight's march of Trebisonde; at which place they seem to have expected a termination of their labours; as they hoped to have collected ships enough, to transport them at once, into Greece. But being either misled by their guide, or mistaking their own situation, they wandered three weeks; chiefly amongst warlike tribes, where they were in danger of perishing by famine: as those tribes were in the habit of depositing their provisions, in fortified, or inaccessible, places. But being finally set right, in respect of their way, they in three weeks more, without any considerable difficulty, arrived at Trebisonde. Here they passed a month, of what to them must have

appeared like holidays; although during great part of the time, they were compelled to procure their subsistence from the neighbouring mountaineers, at the point of the sword. According to Xenophon's statement in the aggregate, about a twelvemonth was consumed between *Sardis* and *Trebisonde:* although the detail of the history makes it somewhat less.

Their labours, however, did not terminate at Trebisonde; for being disappointed in their hopes of collecting ships there, they once more set out by land:* but at *Cotyora*, on the borders of *Paphlagonia*, they were supplied with ships, by the aid of the people of *Sinope:* and were finally landed in *Bithynia.* Their adventures now, though more varied, are of a less dignified character, than before their arrival at Trebisonde. Their sojourn at that place, very much relaxed their discipline: and their military enthusiasm, vanishing with its cause, avarice appears to have supplied its place; and to have influenced their future conduct. Having at first, become Free-booters through necessity, (since that must necessarily be the state of any troops, who derive no regular means of subsistence from their employers), a large proportion of them, pursued it, as a system: but even this, failing, they were finally compelled by their necessities, to accept the degrading employment of military service, under a barbarian prince of *Thrace.* However,

* Antileon, on occasion of the consultation at Trebisonde, respecting the manner of their return into Greece, expressed very forcibly, and no less humourously, the wishes of himself and his fellow Greeks: that "since they were arrived at the sea, he wished "to sail from thenceforward, freed from their accustomed labours; and stretched out, "like Ulysses, *to arrive sleeping in Greece.*" (Lib. V, at the beginning.)

even this part of the History, is not without its share of information; since it serves to describe the savage character and manners of the *Thracian* Princes, and Tribes of that day: and what is of more importance to history, it developes the character of the Spartan government (recently become universal in Greece, by the downfall of that of Athens); unjust, tyrannical, and insolent; and such as Greece, collectively, could not long endure.*

A second winter ended, during this service: and in the following spring, they terminated their EXPEDITION and RETREAT, of full two years duration, by joining the National Army of Greece, destined to attack that part of the Persian Empire, situated in ASIA MINOR. And there appears to be little doubt, that the successful retreat of the Ten Thousand, paved the way for the subsequent conquest of Persia, by the Macedonians and Greeks; by furnishing so striking a proof of the weakness of its military character, and resources.

The present work was originally intended to form a part of a much more extended one, on the COMPARATIVE GEOGRAPHY

* It may perhaps be said, that the previous conduct of Athens, to her Colonies, was of the same stamp. It appears, however, that the conduct of *Parent* States, to Colonies, has in all ages and countries, been pretty uniform; that is, often domineering and unreasonable, in the first instance: and when actuated by jealousy of competition, or dread of resistance, severe, and oftentimes cruel. And perhaps, the more free the Mother Country, the less freedom is tolerated, in its Colonies.

This supremacy is doubtless assumed, on the ground that the Colonies, were creatures of the Parent State: and as such, had derived protection; and for a length of time, the means of existence, also; from it. So that in the case of Colonies planted by a State, some pretence may be found; at least, for a time; but Sparta had no pretensions of the kind, in respect of Greece, at large.

of Western Asia; in which a very great progress has been made: but which has been interrupted in the advance towards completion, by various accidents.

Whilst the present work formed no more than a section of the greater one, references were made from it, generally, in order to avoid repetitions. Such was the description of the passes of Syria and Cilicia; of the rivers and canals of Mesopotamia; the Roman roads, &c., (each of which subjects formed a distinct section): but when it was judged proper to separate the Expedition and Retreat from the other, it became necessary, instead of making references, to extract in many cases, such passages as were required, towards the explanation of certain of the subjects; and to make abstracts of others; in order to render the work more complete within itself.

The author feels it to be an indispensible duty, and at the same time, a no less agreeable one, to acknowledge the very great assistance which has been afforded him by his friends: although it may be feared, that the length of the list, which he has to exhibit, is such, that he may incur a charge of ostentation; whilst he only seeks to express his gratitude. Their zeal in contributing a variety of aids, towards the progress of the original work, from whence the geography of the present one is drawn; as well as towards the present one, itself; has been very great; and has been equally successful. Without these aids, it had been utterly impossible to have produced it, under its present form. And had he even been silent, the work itself would have furnished much internal evidence, to

this point. But as it would be unseasonable at present, to set forth, at large, the obligations due, for the assistance afforded towards the construction of the general work, the author will in this place, confine himself to what belongs to the subject in hand; with the exception of the gracious aid afforded him by his Imperial Majesty ALEXANDER, Emperor of all the Russias: as without it, an interval of several years, might have been lost.

About 11 years ago, his Imperial Majesty, on the application of his Excellency Count Woronzoff, was most graciously pleased to signify, that the author should be accommodated with such plans and charts, as might appear necessary for his object, from the Imperial depot. This happened during the formation of the magnificent Map of Russia, in Europe, which has since appeared; and which contains large tracts of the adjoining continent of Asia. And that no time might be lost, in waiting for the completion of the grand work, (since the Russian surveys were intended to form the basis of the Author's work, towards the north and north-east,) his Imperial Majesty was pleased to confer an additional favor, by directing that such portions of the geography, as were required, for the purpose, should be transmitted, severally, as they were completed. Such attentions to science, deserve, as they will, no doubt, obtain, the acknowledgments of the learned and scientific public.

The Author begs leave in this place to express his obligations to their Excellencies Count Woronzoff and Admiral Tchichagoff, for their polite attentions and assistance, on this occasion.

The important aids furnished by M. Niebuhr, Mr. Sullivan, M. Hammer, Mr. James Morier, and M. Otto, personally; have already been acknowledged: as well as those, derived from the writings and drawings of the late M. de Beauchamp.

To Mr. Browne, whose hazardous and fatiguing researches brought to our knowledge the position and remains of the temple of Jupiter Ammon, in *Lybia*, he is indebted for the principal geographical lines, on which the greater part of the interior of Asia Minor has been constructed: as well as for many celestial observations and explanatory remarks. The melancholy tale of his murder, by banditti, in Persia, whilst on his way to *Transoxiana*, still rings in our ears. It has only just come to the knowledge of the author, that whilst at Erzerum, during Mr. Browne's last journey, he ascertained the general point of elevation of that place; which he found to be about 7000 feet above the level of the sea. The severity of the winters, in that quarter, is particularly dwelt on, in the account of the sufferings of the Ten Thousand, in Chapter XII. of the present work.

His thanks are specially due to Dr. Gillies, on whom he has habitually trespassed, for references to Greek authors; and who has been unwearied in his exertions, to meet the wishes of the author: or, to quote the words of a highly respectable author, "he has on all occasions been kind, prompt, and satis-" factory." His thanks are also due to Dr. Charles Wilkins, and to Mr. Marsden, for their great readiness in explaining matters relating to oriental literature.

As the work was originally written in 1794 and 1795, and only re-written in its present form, in 1812, the author availed himself of the opportunity, which the interval afforded, of profiting by the advice and assistance of his friends; on whose judgment he either enlarged, retrenched, or altered, such parts as appeared to require it; or added new matter to render it more complete. Sir Joseph Banks, Sir Charles Blagden, and the three last mentioned gentlemen, have more particularly favoured him in this respect.

He also feels himself highly indebted to the following gentlemen, who have communicated much useful information, either from their personal observation, or collected from that of others on the spot; in Western Asia, or in Rumili. They are, namely, the Rev. Mr. Uskoe, formerly chaplain to the British factory at Smyrna; Mr. John Hawkins, who travelled in Asia Minor; Sir Harford Jones, Mr. W. Hamilton, Mr. Charles Vaughan, Major Leake, Mr. David Morier, Mr. Thomas Thornton, and Mr. Eyles Irwin. On Mr. Thornton's authority, the detail of the geography of Rumili, chiefly rests: and on that of Mr. Irwin, the desert route to Baghdad, and a great variety of other particulars.

Sir James Bland Burgess most politely communicated, unsolicited, a considerable portion of valuable geographical matter, relating to the sea of Marmora, and to the Euxine, generally: as also various other documents. The author's thanks are also due to Mr. R. H. Inglis, for various remarks, which his knowledge concerning the subject of Western Asia, acquired by reading and enquiry, had qualified him to make.

The Rev. Mr. Smirnove, Chaplain to the Embassy from his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, has never ceased to interest himself in the success of the general work: which has been manifested by his labours, in the furtherance of measures for collecting and transmitting of geographical and other materials.

And lastly, as a person who cannot in respect of the nature of his assistance, be well classed with any of the rest; the late Mr. Jonas Dryander, Librarian to Sir Joseph Banks, and Vice-President of the Linnæan Society. His assistance indeed, was so various and extensive, that it may be reckoned equal to a host: for not only, what he had made his own, by means of his proper studies, was brought into use; but he knew where every other thing wanted, was to be found; at the same time possessing the means of reference on the spot; and with it the desire of being useful to his friends.

CONTENTS.

Notices respecting the Maps - - - - p. xxvii
Table of the Marches of Cyrus and of the Greeks, from Sardis *to* Cotyora - - - - - - xxviii, xxix

Chapter
I. *Preliminary Observations* - - - - 1
II. *From* Sardis *to* Iconium - - - - 9
III. *From* Iconium *to* Myriandrus; *situated at the Gulph of* Issus - - - - - - - 35
IV. *From* Myriandrus *to the* Pylæ, *at the entrance into* Babylonia - - - - - - 59
V. *From the* Pylæ *to* Sitace - - - - 81
VI. *Observations on the foregoing March, from* Myriandrus *to* Sitace; *on the Battle of* Cunaxa; *and on the subsequent State of the Grecian Army* - - 99
VII. *From* Sitace *to the* Zabatus - - - 123
VIII. Retreat *of the* Ten Thousand Greeks, *from the River* Zabatus *towards the* Carduchian *Mountains* 140
IX. *The* Retreat *continued, from the Hills of* Zaco, *to the* Carduchian *Mountains* - - - 160
X. *Concerning the* Change *in the* Military Disposition *of the Greeks.* (Referred to from Chapter VIII.) 175
XI. *From the Ascent of the* Carduchian *Mountains, to the Descent into Armenia* - - - - 189
XII. *From the* Carduchian *Mountains to the* Villages *of* Shelter *and* Refreshment, *beyond the* Euphrates 203
XIII. *From the Villages of* Shelter *and* Refreshment, *beyond the* Euphrates, *to the River* Harpasus - p. 222

Chapter

XIV. *From the River* Harpasus *to* Trebisonde - 239

XV. *The Greeks proceed from Trebisonde to Byzantium. Their winter Campaign with Seuthes, in Thrace: and the termination, of the Expedition, by their Junction with the national Army of Greece, in Asia Minor* - 256

XVI. *Concerning the numbers of the Grecian auxiliaries employed in the Expedition: and what proportion of them finally remained. Also concerning the Dates of the Events and Transactions* - - - - - 272

APPENDIX.

A Proposal for the Improvement *of the* Geography *of the Route of the* Ten Thousand, *by Enquiries on the spot, concerning the Positions of certain prominent points in the Geography: and in common with it, that of* Alexander *through the same countries: the whole of which Enquiries will be equally applicable to the* Improvement *of* Modern Geography - - 291

ADDENDA.

I. *Concerning the Itinerary Measures employed by Xenophon,* 323

II. *Note on the Mean Marches of Armies* - - 324

III. *Concerning the Inundations of the Euphrates, in the quarter between Feluja and Baghdad* - - - 329

IV. *Concerning the Depth of the Euphrates, and its Rate of Motion; in different parts of its course* - - 329

V. *Note on a passage in the Anabasis, concerning the river Tigris; omitted in its place* - - - 330

VI. *On the great elevation of the Mountain of Teke (or* Theches) *from whence the Greeks first saw the Black Sea* 331

VII. *Concerning the period of swelling of the Euphrates* 332

Index - - - - - - - - 335

THE Maps are three in number, and on different scales, adapted to the explanation both of the general, and the detailed geography.

The FIRST is a *General View* of the whole EXPEDITION and RETREAT; on a small scale; and is placed opposite to the title page, for the more ready means of reference, on the occurrence of any very general question.

The SECOND gives the whole in *detail:* that is, on a scale sufficiently large to shew the daily progress, when required. It also exhibits a general view of the physical geography; such as the principal chains of mountains, lakes, rivers, passes, &c. in and near the line of march.

There will be found, in a corner of the same map, a plan of the gulf of *Issus* (or Scanderoone), and its environs, on an extended scale; in order the better to express the positions of the passes, and other particulars around it. It was compiled from the joint observations of Messrs. Niebuhr, Drummond, and Pocock: and is a portion of a map drawn with a view to explain the relative positions of the passes of Cilicia and Syria, and other circumstances respecting the warfare of Alexander and Darius in that quarter.

The THIRD contains on an enlarged scale, that very important part of the Expedition and Retreat, comprised between the commencement of the country of *Babylonia*, and the ascent of the *Carduchian* Mountains, by the Greeks. This last map it is hoped, will afford satisfaction to the reader, whilst attending the steps of the Greeks to the battle of *Cunaxa*, and thence to *Sitace*, and the river *Zabatus:* where a still more interesting scene commences, by their fighting their way through the collective force of the Persian Empire; and accomplishing that RETREAT, which in a military point of view, has immortalized both themselves and their country.

The two last maps being too large to be conveniently folded into the book, are placed within a separate cover: by which arrangement their surfaces remain flat; and thus preserve the relative positions and proportions of the parts, to each other; which the folding has an evident tendency to destroy.

A TABLE *of the Marches, Distances, and Halts, of Cyrus, and the Ten Thousand, &c.*

Names of Places.	Number of Marches	Para-sangas	Halt Days	Remarks.
From Sardis to the Mæander River -	3	22	.	
Colossæ - - - -	1	8	7	
Celænæ - - - -	3	20	30	
Peltæ - - - -	2	10	3	
Forum of the Kramians - -	2	12	.	Taken for Kutahiah.
Caystrus - - - -	3	30	5	Supposed to be 5 or 6 marches.
Thymbrium - - -	2	10	.	
Tyriæum - - - -	2	10	3	
Iconium - - - -	3	20	3	
Through Lycaonia - - -	5	30	.	
Dana (Tyana) - - -	4	25	3	
At the Cilician Pass near Tyana -	.	.	2	
Through it, to Tarsus - -	4	25	20	
Pharus (Sarus) River - -	2	10	.	The Seihan River.
Pyramus River - - -	1	5	.	The Jeihan River.
Issus - - - -	2	15	3	
Syrian Gates - - -	1	5	.	
Myriandrus - - - - -	1	5	7	
Daradax River - - -	9	50	.	
Thapsacus - - - -	9	50	5	It is supposed that these two articles are transposed in the original.*
Araxes River - - -	3	15	3	
Corsote - - - -	5	35	3	
The Pylæ - - - -	13	90	.	
Thro' Babylonia, to the field of battle at Cunaxa	3	12	.	
	1	3	.	
	1	.	.	Distance omitted in the original.
	1	4	.	

* In the text the articles stand thus:

Daradax to Thapsacus - -	3	15	5
Thapsacus to the Araxes - -	9	50	3

The Greeks, alone.

Names of Places.	Number of Marches	Para-sangas	Halt Days	Remarks.
Returned to the former Camp, at night	1	4	.	
With Ariæus, northward - -	1	.	.	
Truce Villages - - -	1	.	26	No distances given.
To the Wall of Media - -	3	.	.	
Sitace - - - -	2	8	.	
Opis - - - - -	4	20	.	
Zabatus River - - -	11	50	3	The Greater Zab.
To the Carduchian Mountains -	15	.	6	No distances given, generally.
Centrites River - - -	7	.	1	
Teleboas River - - - -	6	30	.	Aksou River.
To the Villages where they had the first snow	3	15	.	Supposed to be Yezidkoi.
Halt and attack of Teribazus' Camp -	.	.	3	
To the Pass - - -	1	.	.	
Eastern Euphrates - - -	3	.	.	
Through the Snow - - -	3	15*	.	In the Snow 23 days.
To the Villages of Refreshment -	1	.	.	
The Army came in the next day -	1	.	8	
With the head man of the village (who leaves them to wander) - - -	3	.	.	
To the River Phasis (the *Araxes*) -	7	35	Wandering all this time.	
To the fortified post of the Taochians, &c.	2	10		
Taochians' country - - -	5	30		
Chalybians (rather Chaldæans,) and to the Harpasus River - - -	7	50		The Harpa-sou River.
Through the Scythinian's country -	4	20	3	
Gymnias City - - -	4	20	.	
Mount Theches - - -	5	.	.	Teke mountains (first view of the sea)
Through the Macronian country -	3	10	†	
Sickness, occasioned by the honey -	.	.	3	
To Trebisonde - - -	2	7	30	Rather 3 marches; as Diodorus says
To Cerazunt - - -	3	All this part appears to be confused or transposed	10	Rather 6 marches.
Warfare with the Mosynœcians -	.		.	No time given.
Through their country - -	8		.	Doubtless, much less.
Chalybians - - - -	.		.	No time or distance.
Tiburenians, to Cotyora - -	.		.	

* This is the only time that the distance is mentioned, whilst in the snow.

† Besides the three marches through the country of the *Macronians*, there appears to have been a short interval of time unaccounted for, between the Camp beyond the summit of M. *Thecbes*, and the frontier of the *Macronians*.

ERRATA.

Page i. (Preface) Note, line 4, after *interior of it*, read *since the Materials used in its formation, preserved their original Scale.*
vii. last line but three, *dele "the French Government."*
x. Note, read *flank.*
xiii. line 8, after *experience*, read, *in a contest*, unusually protracted, &c.
8. line 16, read 110,000.
12. line 12 from bottom, read *Artabarzanes.*
28. Note, read *rate.*
36. line 11 from bottom, read *at* the end.
50. line 1, read 39, and $19\frac{1}{2}$.
line 5, read 39, and $39\frac{1}{4}$.
62. line 13, read an *ancient* Town.
63. Note, lines 14 and 15, *transpose* Callinicum and Nicephorium.
78. line 10, read *canal.*
87. line 12 from bottom, read 34, and 44.
99. line 2, for *Myriandrus*, read *Thapsacus.*
117. line 3, after the Plain, read *for* the mountainous barrier, &c.
127. line the last, read the river *of* Dokhala.
194. first Note, *dele "probably."*
195. Note, line 2, read, *He travelled* in the line, &c.
205. line 17, for 4, read 3.
216. line 1, for *the*, read *this.*
235. line 4, for 30 to 40, read 20 to 30.
239. line 7 from bottom, read *original* cause.
255. line 2, read *might have become.*
277. line 12, Thevenot's reckoning should have been *New* Style.
280. line 3 from bottom, after "Autumn;" read, *and that* they may be quite clear, &c.
281. line 7, read *first* to mention.
329. line 8 from bottom, for *that place*, read *page* 76.
331. line 11 from bottom, for *River* read *Rivers.*
338. last line, for 31 read 11.

ILLUSTRATIONS, *&c.*

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

The ANABASIS, *the most interesting portion of ancient Military History—requires much Geographical Illustration—partly accomplished, by the observations of recent travellers—The Itinerary Measures of* XENOPHON, *considered—great errors in the numerals—his* Parasanga *shorter than the Persian standard, whether ancient or modern: and appears to be equal to three* Roman *miles—Enquiry concerning the length of the mean Marches of great armies; considered as a scale for geographical purposes—observations on the number of Marches, and on the distances, noted in the* Anabasis—*rate of marching, deduced from these statements; which differs but little from that of the* mean march *of large armies, taken generally—*Xenophon *has incurred blame, by omitting to censure the conduct of the younger* Cyrus, *and of* Clearchus—*The* Anabasis *contains much information, respecting the nature and constitution of* Grecian Armies—*contrast between the characters of the individuals of the* Grecian *and of* modern *Armies—the* Grecian Auxiliaries *of Cyrus, consisted of* select *men—The* Anabasis, *in the form in which it now appears, must have been written long after the date of the events; probably from notes taken during the Expedition.*

THIS Expedition, taken in all its parts, is perhaps the most splendid of all the military events, that have been recorded

in Ancient History: and it has been rendered no less interesting and impressive, in the description, by the happy mode of relating it. Yet it has doubtless lost a part of its value amongst critical readers, from the want of such illustrations, as might serve to remove, or to explain, the numerical and other errors, which at present render certain parts of it, either unintelligible, or improbable. And as the greater part of the tract, through which the Expedition led, was, until latter times, unknown in detail, to Europeans; no means of comparing the Narrative with the actual Geography, existed. So that, in many cases, the reader was compelled, after much examination, to take for granted, what the mind naturally required to be verified; and in others, to forego all enquiry, as entirely hopeless.

And, since military operations often receive their character from the nature of the ground, on which they are performed; neither can the mind be satisfied, without such a representation of it, as will aid the developement of the causes, of the several movements; for *written* descriptions will not always express what is required.

The Author has been fortunate enough to obtain many new documents, illustrative of this subject; and in particular, certain routes of modern travellers over the ground, on which the Ten Thousand were the most closely pressed by the Persians, during their retreat from the river *Zabatus* to the foot of the *Carduchian* mountains; one of the most interesting parts of the History. Mr. John Sullivan, in particular, noted the nature and quality of the ground, along, and near the eastern shore of the Tigris; between the foot of the before-mentioned mountains, and the city of Mosul: opposite to the site of which

city, the Greeks may be supposed to have arrived on the fifth day after the commencement of their retreat from the *Zabatus*.

The place at which they crossed the *Euphrates* in *Armenia*, has also remained doubtful: but a notice in Hajy Kalifa, joined to another in Diodorus Siculus, serves to fix, or at least, to approximate very closely, this important point in their route.

The position of the city of *Gymnias*, (or *Gumnias*), to which they came, after they had *recovered* the route, towards Trebizonde; is believed to be found in a place named by different travellers, Coumbas, Comasour, and Kumakie. It is of much importance in ascertaining the latter part of the route. And finally, the line of positions along the great southern road, through Asia Minor, described by M. Niebuhr, Mr. Browne, and others, has afforded great aid towards adjusting the different points, arising in the route between *Sardis* and *Tarsus*.

In the compilation of the geography of this expedition, one grand *desideratum* was the SCALE: for the number of Parasangas given, for the length of the daily march, taking the Parasang at the usual rate of three miles, is, oftentimes, beyond probability. On the other hand, the distances appear to be sometimes right, when the number of marches is wrong. And again, it happens, in many cases, that the number of marches *alone*, is given, without any statement of the distance marched. It thus became necessary, not only to ascertain the standard of the Parasanga, recorded by Xenophon; but also to enquire into the length of the mean daily marches of large armies; in order to be enabled to regulate, and to apportion, the distances.

With respect to the *Parasanga* itself, there can be little doubt but that it was the same *denomination* with the *Farsang*,

in present use, throughout Persia. But the standards differ very considerably: the Farsang being, at a mean, little short of $3\frac{1}{2}$ British miles; whilst the parasanga of Xenophon was no more than 3 Roman miles; or little more than $2\frac{3}{4}$ British: (strictly, 2,78). Both Herodotus and Xenophon say, that the parasanga consisted of 30 stades:* and as these may be supposed to have been of the *Grecian itinerary standard*,† the parasanga would be equal to 2,9 British miles; or $\frac{1}{24}$ only, longer than that of the *Anabasis*.

It may be conceived that Xenophon adopted, or meant to adopt, the itinerary measure of the Persians, on the above evaluation, at which it was estimated in Greece; and which, it has appeared, was not very wide of the truth. But then, he uses the same standard during the whole Expedition and Retreat; although it cannot well be supposed, that the same itinerary measure prevailed in *Lydia*, as in *Assyria*, or in *Armenia*. It is therefore, only by a reference to the ground marched over by Xenophon, in the few places where the Geography is well known, that a just idea of his standard can be obtained: and it fortunately happens, that in *Cilicia*, he travelled a considerable space, over which a Roman road was afterwards formed; and which is registered in their itineraries.

The Jerusalem Itinerary has 45 Roman miles between *Tarsus* and the river *Pyramus*, at *Mopsuhestia*:‡ which distance is given at 15 *parasangas*, in the Anabasis.§ And although the

* Herodotus in Terpsichore, c. 53; and Xenophon in the Anabasis, Lib. II. c. 5.; where 535 parasangas are said to be equal to 16,050 stades.

† See the *Geographical System of Herodotus*, at the conclusion of the second section.

‡ See pages 579,580. It is called *Mansista*, in the Itinerary. § Lib. I. c. 17.

comparison cannot be so pointedly made, through the whole extent between the *Pyramus* and *Myriandrus*, yet it may clearly be inferred, that the 25 parasangas allowed for this interval, agree generally to 3 Roman miles, each.* Again, the 25 parasangas between *Tyana* and *Tarsus*, agree to the 75 miles of the aforesaid itinerary.† In effect, the parasanga of Xenophon agrees with 3 Roman miles: and appears to differ only $\frac{1}{24}$ part from its reputed standard of 30 stades, in Greece.‡

With respect to the marches of large armies, it is proper to observe, that such marches, taken at a mean rate in *road* distance, and afterwards reduced to *direct* distance, by a rule founded on experience, in a great variety of cases; may be used with great advantage as a scale, in the construction of geography. For the *mean* rate of the daily marches of armies, is much the same at all periods, and in all countries; since the physical powers of men, in the aggregate, are much the same every where. This is, however, to be understood, of large armies, attended by a proportionate number of carriages and beasts of burthen; and of marches which are continued for some length of time.

In the course of our enquiries, examples have been collected from a variety of quarters; and the result is somewhat above 14 British miles *by the road;* or about 12 geographic; and which, reduced to direct distance, may be taken at about $10\frac{1}{2}$, of the latter standard, on a line of 8 or 10 marches. But a single

* In Chapter III. will be found a Table, in which the ancient and modern distances on this road, are compared, in detail.

† Pages 577, 578, and 579.

‡ It may be added, that, by all that can be collected, the same scale agrees best with the ground, throughout the expedition and retreat.

march; or even 2 or 3 taken together; may produce about 11 geographic miles, each. Amongst other examples, is that of 95 *measured* marches of a Mogul army in the 17th century; during a campaign in India, and in the bordering country of Persia. This army was large; as being commanded by one of the Imperial family in person; though by no means equal in numbers to that of Cyrus. In respect of its appointments, it may be called *light armed;* and its mean rate of march was 14,6 British miles, (or somewhat more than $14\frac{1}{2}$), by the trace of the road.*

Those who may have been accustomed to read the accounts of the exceeding long marches of Alexander, during certain periods of his Expedition, may possibly be inclined to doubt these statements: but the long continued *forced* marches of this Commander, in which he manifested no feeling, either for man or beast, whilst his thirst of dominion continued; these are out of the question at present.† This may also apply in a degree to Bonaparte: but then *his* marches were across countries well *stocked,* as well as inhabited; and where he might sweep the whole line of his route, of its horses and carriages, to assist in transporting his army, and its appointments. Persia presented a different face: and more particularly some of its desert parts, that were passed over with so much rapidity, by Alexander.

* This statement was communicated by the late General William Kirkpatrick; who was well read in the *Commentaries* and Journals of the different Mogul Emperors of India, of the line of Tamerlane. It is proper to remark, that in the Indian National Armies, there was a department, which had the care of measuring the line of the route; regulating the time, &c.

† That is, meaning here to speak of those Commanders, who only hazard the lives of their men in hostile conflict.

When this latter Commander marched from *Ecbatana* to *Rages* (Hamadan to Rey) in 11 days; which was at the rate of about 19 British miles per day, Arrian says (Lib. III.), that although " many of his soldiers fainted on the road, and " many of his horses died, through excessive weariness, Alex- " ander still resolved to proceed at the same rate."

Here it may be observed that an increment of *less than one third*, over the ordinary march, when long continued, produced excessive lassitude, and consequent *loss* of men and horses. Most of the men, who *drop*, in this manner, in hot climates, never rise again.*

If the whole number of marches† in the history of the Expedition and Retreat; together with the number of parasangas, as summed up by Xenophon, in Books II, V, and VII; be

* It may be conceived that many persons regard soldiers on the march, in the light of ordinary travellers, walking at their ease: and not as men *partially laden*, and under certain restraints. Moreover, the unavoidable stoppages on the march, without actually *resting*: by lengthening the *duration* of the time employed, produce an addition of fatigue, to that arising from the quantity of distance, actually marched.

† It is to be observed, that in the number of marches, and parasangas, given by Xenophon, the aggregate does not agree with the detail, as collected from the History. For instance, the aggregate (in Lib. II.) has 93 marches, and 535 paras. from *Ephesus* to the field of battle; but the detail, which is given from *Sardis* (which is itself 63 MP. or 21 paras. short of Ephesus) has 86 marches, and 525 paras.: or it would give from Ephesus 546 parasangas. And even if 4 marches were allowed for the 21 par. from Ephesus to Sardis, the detail would still want 3 marches.

One particular in this matter is worthy of remark. Although the *marches* fall short in the detail by 7, yet the number of parasangas fall short only 10: so that it would appear, that there was an excess of 25 paras. in the detail. And it will be remarked that the marches are given, in the desert particularly, out of all reasonable proportion, too long.

It may also be remarked, that Xenophon neglects the fractions; but perhaps allows them on the whole account, by allowing *integers* for the larger fractions; and sinking the lesser ones; &c.

noted; that is, 93 marches, equal to 535 parasangas, from *Sardis* to the field of battle at *Cunaxa*; and 122 marches, giving 620 parasangas, from thence to *Cotyora*, there will be an aggregate of 215 marches, and 1155 parasangas. And accordingly, by this statement, the *mean* march of the Greeks, taken throughout the whole Expedition and Retreat, is equal to 5,36 parasangas: or reckoned in British miles, as nearly 15, as possible. But if the sum of the marches of the *combined* army, and that of the *Greeks*, be taken separately, as they ought to be; since the two armies were very differently appointed, and differed in point of numbers, in a ten-fold proportion; the mean march of the combined army, will be found to be 5,72 parasangas, approaching to 16 British miles; and that of the Greeks, 5,08 parasangas, or only a small fraction over 14 British miles.

Hence it would appear, as if the grand army of 110,500 men, with all their incumbrances, had out-marched one of 12,000; without any incumbrances; at the rate of two Roman miles per day; (i. e. $17\frac{1}{4}$ to $15\frac{1}{4}$). It is true, that the Greeks, during a part of the retreat, were often delayed, through the necessity of fighting their way, or of preparing to resist attacks; and in another part, in marching through deep snows newly fallen; whilst Cyrus marched without meeting with delays of that kind. Yet as the disproportion runs through the *whole*, at the above rate of two Roman miles *per* day; the statement cannot be admitted; as being contrary to experience, which on a long continued march, allows only 14 British miles, and a small fraction, by the trace of the road; and which may be taken, as we have said before, at about $10\frac{1}{2}$ G. miles, in direct distance. It may be remarked also, that the standard of 14

miles, or thereabouts, for the ordinary rate of marching, is, in effect, confirmed, by the general statement of Xenophon: for marches of 5 parasangas, or 150 stades, answering to 13,9 British miles, occur very commonly.* Nor will the actual space in the geography of the country, allow of marches of 16 miles, *throughout* the march of Cyrus; as the general report requires: and there are palpable errors in the numbers of the parasangas, in many parts of *Mesopotamia;* since 90 are given for 13 marches, through the *hilly desert;* amounting to more than 19 miles per day; and without any intervening halts.

Xenophon indeed says, that Cyrus *hastened* the march, as much as possible: and there is no reason to doubt that the army made as quick a progress as *so large a body, so attended,* could make.† But impossibilities could not be performed: and it is related by Xenophon, that during *this part* of the march, which was previous to their entering the plains of *Babylonia,* there was so great a scarcity of fodder for the horses, that many of them died of hunger.‡ Consequently, one must expect that there was generally, so great a diminution of strength, as to make them fall off, in their rate of travelling: so that the account of marches of *such a length, so long continued,* appears improbable: at least, in this place.

* See the Table of marches at the end of the Preface, &c.

Amongst the Greeks, a day's march appears to have been reckoned 150 stadia, in common estimation: which, according to our supposition (Geogr. Syst. of Herod, § II.) would be equal to about 14½ British miles.

† It is said that in Cyrus' army, 400 waggons were employed for the service of the Greeks, alone. [Anabasis, end of the fourth Book]. Hence the whole number must have been very great.

‡ Anab. Lib. I. c. 24.

It appears then, that 14 British miles, and a fraction, may be taken for the *mean* daily march of an army; whether applied *generally*, or to the marches in the *Anabasis*, in particular; instead of the improbable lengths, so long continued; above cited. But when the number of parasangas, agrees with the circumstances of the case, which happens more commonly, the numbers in the text are adopted accordingly. And even when they are out of measure, provided they agree with the actual geography; and a probable cause appears, for making *forced marches;* there also the original numbers are adopted. But probability is not to be violated; for forced marches can only be continued for a time, without destroying both man and beast.

And in respect of the scale of the *parasanga*, three Roman miles are adopted; and these, according to M. D'Anville (in his Mes. Itinéraire, p. 44.) are at the rate of 75 to a degree: so that a parasanga may be taken, in *direct* distance, that is, with the allowance of *about* $\frac{1}{9}$, for winding, at 2,14 G. miles; or for a march of 5 parasangas, about 10,7 G. miles, *direct;* differing only a *shade*, from the mean length of the marches of large armies, taken generally.

It may be proper in this place, to state the length of the different Itinerary measures made use of, or referred to, in the course of the work.

1. The geographical mile, or 60th part of a degree of latitude.

2. British miles of 1760 yards, of which between $69\frac{1}{4}$ and $69\frac{1}{2}$ make a degree.

3. The Roman mile or *mille passus*, of which, 75 make a degree. This mile, reduced to *direct* distance, by deducting $\frac{1}{9}$ from the measure, by the road, will be 0,714 geog. mile.

4. The parasanga of Xenophon, equal to about 3 Roman miles, or 2,4 G. miles by *the road*. *In direct* distance 2,143. Taken at 30 Grecian Itinerary stades, it would be 2,5 G. miles, (about) by the road; or 2,232 direct.*

5. The Grecian Itinerary stade has been taken at the 718th part of a degree.† If taken, *practically*, at 720, 12 of these would make a geog. mile.‡

The stade of Strabo is of 700 to a degree.

6. Arabic miles. Of these, there are $56\frac{2}{3}$ to a degree: or each mile 1,055 G. mile, *by the road*.

* The modern *farsang*, in common use, on a mean of 1224 farsangs, is 3,455 British miles, *by the road*: or in direct distance 2,653 G. miles. Sir John Malcolm's own route (in 1801) of $347\frac{3}{4}$ farsangs, gives 2,66; and by the road, $3\frac{1}{2}$ British miles. It is scarcely possible to find a nearer agreement, of the kind.

† See the Geography of Herodotus, Section II.

‡ A learned Grecian, who, not long ago, translated Arrian's Periplus of the Euxine Sea, into English, has taken much pains to controvert the opinions, respecting the scale of the stade, and the rate of sailing of ancient ships, set forth in the Geography of Herodotus. The Author does not intend to enter into a defence of those opinions, leaving them to the judgment of the Public: but it is proper to observe, that this gentleman, by his want of reflexion, has led himself into some very ridiculous mistakes. He supposes the *G.* miles in the book, to mean *Greek* miles; why, no one can guess; as that denomination of miles, is never used in geographical construction: and in the beginning of the Chapter, the word *geographical* is given at full length, together with the scale. So that this gentleman has been *fighting with a shadow*, through two long dissertations; written, apparently, with a view to lessen the reputation of the book. He, of course, always finds the Author in the wrong, in his results; because *he* supposes miles of about 87 to a degree; the Author, those of 60! It might almost be supposed, that finding a *G* standing *alone*; he had *pressed it into the service* of the Greeks, to give it employment!

Nor do his mistakes end here: for amongst others, he has omitted a whole line of distance in the translation; which might very much mislead a geographer, who followed him.

7. Marches of great armies. For 2 to 3 days, 11 G. miles, in *direct* distance: for a great number, 10,6, to $10\frac{1}{2}$.

8. Ordinary day's journies, on foot, from $17\frac{1}{2}$ to 18 G. miles, *direct*.

Certain of the commentators on this history, have blamed Xenophon for passing over, without censure, or even animadversion, the conduct of the younger Cyrus, in pursuing, what they deemed an unwarrantable plan of ambition; since, say they, it had for its object, the dethronement, and eventual murder, of his brother and sovereign. But that, on the contrary, Xenophon extols his virtues; and doubtless endeavours to place him in an amiable point of view.

Others have defended Cyrus (and at the same time, Xenophon, of course) on the ground of an alledged custom of ancient Persia, respecting the succession to the throne. It may be recollected, that Xerxes, a *younger* son of Darius Hystaspes, was preferred to Artabazanes, the *eldest;* because Xerxes was born, after his father became king of Persia; but the other previous to that event. (Herod. Polymn. c. 3.) Cyrus the younger, and Artaxerxes his brother, were in the like predicament; Cyrus being born after the accession of Darius Nothus; but Artaxerxes, previously: though both of the same mother, which was not the case with Artabazanes and Xerxes.

By the manner, however, in which Herodotus relates the story, it would appear, that the above act in favour of Xerxes, did not constitute a precedent: but rather that he claimed the throne in virtue of being the grandson of Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Monarchy; by his daughter Atossa (c. 2.

of the same book): and that the plea of being *born the son of the king*, was not thought of, till Demaratus suggested it; and adduced the example of the Spartan succession.* Moreover, Herodotus adds, that in his opinion, " Xerxes would have " reigned, without this advice from Demaratus; as Atossa " enjoyed an almost unlimited authority." (Polymn. 3.)

Accordingly, one cannot but suspect, that the plea of being *born the son of a king*, was no more than a colourable pretence: and that the true reason of Xerxes' succeeding, was the superior influence of his mother. It is worthy of remark, that Xenophon is silent concerning the competition between the brothers Artaxerxes and Cyrus on the score of birth; although one cannot suppose him ignorant of a transaction that must have been much canvassed in Greece.†

But, whatsoever may have been the merits of *this* case, Xenophon certainly appears blameable in another matter: and has in consequence, been accused of want of candour,‡ in omitting to mention the *cause* of the banishment of Clearchus

* This regulation in Sparta, appears to be very extraordinary; as seeming to depart from the principle, on which the preference of one son to another, in respect of the order of birth, has apparently been established: that is, that the elder is naturally supposed to be the farthest advanced in the knowledge of mankind and the science of government.

† It is a curious fact, that a dispute of the same kind, with that between Xerxes and his brother, occurred in the Ottoman Empire, between the sons of Mahomed the second, about the year 1481.

Cantemir says, (p. 119, English Translation) that (Jem) the younger son, disputed the succession with the elder brother (Bajazet II.) because " it was a dishonour that " the empire should be given to the son of a *private man*, in prejudice of the *imperial* " *offspring*."

‡ By the celebrated M. Larcher, in his Preface to his French Translation of the *Anabasis*.

from Sparta: and merely stating, that he was *a banished man*.* It must be allowed to be a fault to omit the cause, when it was no less than the crimes of tyranny, robbery, and murder: for as the cause was as publicly known in Greece, as the punishment; the mere statement of the latter, might lead many to conclude, that a person of Xenophon's high character, thought too lightly of such atrocities. However, in delineating the character of this general, after the massacre at the river *Zabatus*, Xenophon exposes in the strongest terms, and in the happiest manner, his violent passion for war.

"These (says he), seem to be the actions of a man, delight-
"ing in war; who, when it is in his power to live in peace,
"without detriment or dishonour, prefers war; when to live in
"ease, chooses labour, with a view to war: and when to enjoy
"riches, without danger, chooses rather, by making war, to
"diminish them——"†

The *Anabasis* lets us more into the nature and constitution of a Grecian army, than any other ancient document; as entering more into the detail of its discipline, and management. It may indeed, have been, that this particular army, although composed of *Grecian individuals*, as Athenians, Spartans, Bœotians, Arcadians, Thessalians, &c. yet not belonging to the Grecian *states*, it might not have attained so high a point of discipline, as that of their national armies. But in whatsoever *degree*, one must expect the same kind of *customs and observances*.

* *Anabasis*, lib. I, c. 3; and II, c. 25.

† *Anab.* lib. III, c. 26: Spelman's Translation.

The discipline of a Grecian army, was, in effect, as different as possible, from any thing that appears amongst us, at this day. The army, itself, was a kind of Republic: for during the Expedition which is the subject of the present work, the consent of the ranks was taken, not only in the choice of officers, to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the massacre, and for the adoption of regulations for their conduct, during the retreat; but even respecting the *disposition* and the *order of march!**

How different then, must have been the education and habits of those men, who, by a sense of propriety, alone, could establish a character, which afforded a sufficient security for their conduct, in what related to military discipline! For, it may be observed, that there was at all times, a prompt obedience, in actual service, howsoever arduous, or dangerous.!†

* *Anab.* lib. III. c. 13.

During the late expedition across the Continent of North America, for the purposes of discovery, under the conduct of the Captains Lewis and Clarke; it appears that upon the death of a serjeant, one was elected in his room, by the privates themselves, out of their own body; which formed a part of one of the regiments of the line, in the service of the United States.

† The oration pronounced by Pericles, on occasion of the public funeral of the Athenians, slain in the first part of the Peloponnesian war, throws much light on the state of society, and of the public mind, at Athens: from whence may be inferred, in degrees, that of the rest of Greece.

"We enjoy a form of government, not moulded in rivalry of the constitutions of neighbouring states, but which has served as a pattern to some of them; itself unborrowed from any. It is called democracy, because it embraces the interests of the people at large, not those of a part only of the community. In maintaining the rights of individuals, and adjusting private differences, the law deals impartially with all; but in the distribution of offices and honours, men are preferred according to the esteem in which each candidate is held, for his personal and appropriate merits; for the claims of merit supersede the distinctions of birth; nor is poverty a bar to preferment, when any man appears to be really capable of rendering useful service to the commonwealth. In

But it would even appear, that punishment could not be inflicted, without the consent of the army at large. This is clearly shown by the statement of Xenophon, in his speech to the army, at *Cotyora;* when he sets forth the irregularities and atrocities committed by a considerable number of individuals, at *Cerazunt.** At another time, considerable numbers go out of the camp without leave, in the face of the officers, and contrary to their wishes, on a predatory expedition, amongst the *Mosynoeci:* but we hear of no punishment!

Again, a soldier, whilst marching to an attack, loudly remarks that his officer (Xenophon) has the privilege of riding, whilst he, himself, was marching on foot, and fatigued with carrying his shield. The officer dismounts, thrusts the soldier out of his place, and takes it, together with the shield, himself. The soldier's comrades indeed, punish and shame him, on the spot: but the punishment comes from the ranks! All which is so different from our ideas and habits, that we can hardly believe that we are reading the history of creatures of the same kind with ourselves.

However, the individuals who composed the Grecian armies, are not to be regarded as being of the class of men, of which the ranks ordinarily consist in modern times.‡ Xenophon

the daily intercourse of life, our behaviour is fully answerable to this liberal plan of policy. Exempt from peevishness and irritability, easy and unsuspicious, we view the enjoyments of others with complacence, instead of damping them by those sour looks, which pain, though they cannot punish. Thus inoffensive and indulgent to each other, we are all restrained from offending the public, through respect for the magistrates, and fear of the laws; those written laws especially, which afford redress to the injured; and those unwritten laws, or customs, the violation of which is followed by the loss of character." [Thucydides, lib. II.; translated by Dr. Gillies.]

* Lib. V. c. 34. † Lib. V. c. 16.

‡ Since the Greeks very seldom enrolled the poorer classes of citizens: and hence it

moreover informs us, (lib. vi. c. 22.) that " the greater part of " the men had not engaged in this service through want, but " induced by the reputation of Cyrus: some even bringing " soldiers with them, who had spent their fortunes; some " having left their fathers and mothers, and others their chil- " dren, with a design to return, when they had acquired " enough to enrich them: for they heard that the other Greeks, " who before served under Cyrus, had made their fortunes."*

It seems to be agreed that the History of this Expedition, in the form we now see it, was written a great many years after the date of the transactions, which it records. This appears very clear, by the reasoning of Dr. Forster, in his Geographical Dissertation, annexed to Spelman's Translation of the *Anabasis*, page 336, *et seq.* on a reference to the digression in the fifth book, c. 12, concerning the offering to Diana. It is indeed almost impossible, that the circumstantial details which so often occur, could have been written during the Expedition; but it cannot be believed, that the time, distance, and order of events, could, from their nature, have been so well retained in memory; as other and more important matters, that were too deeply imprinted on the mind, to be obliterated. Such a result, as he has submitted to the reader, could not have been produced, but by *notes*, taken as early as possible, after the events had

had happened, that the loss of a battle, by carrying off many of the richer citizens, endangered, and sometimes changed, the governments of Republics. But, on the other hand, those who served in the gallies, &c. were always of the poorest and meanest of the people. [Dr. Gillies.]

* Cyrus had directed his officers to raise as many *Peloponnesians* as possible: and of those, the *best men* they could get. [Anab. lib. I. c. 2.]

happened. And the errors, and particularly the *transpositions*, may have been occasioned by his not being able to arrange those notes, in the proper order of time, in which they happened; whence the order of some of the transactions has been transposed; and certain rivers, along the coast of the Euxine, have been referred to wrong positions, &c. But after all, the errors are very few.

CHAPTER II.

FROM SARDIS TO ICONIUM.

THE *designs of* CYRUS *were penetrated by* Tissaphernes *at the commencement of his Preparations—The early part of his March, whilst collecting his Troops and Stores, calculated to deceive the* King *of* Persia—*Progress from* Sardis, *by* Colossæ, *to* Celænæ; *the first place of Rendezvous—The geographical position of* Celænæ *discussed; and referred to the site of* Sandukly—*Its description, by* Xenophon—*Numbers and Classes, of the Grecian Auxiliaries—Further Progress of* Cyrus, *by* Peltæ, *the* Forum *of the* Kramians, Tyriæum, *&c. to* Iconium—*The Kramians recognized in* Kermian, *or* Kutahiah; Iconium, *in* Kuniyah—*Plain of* Caystrus; *and Sakli, or Seleukter—Description of the elevated Vallies of the* Pisidian *and* Cilician TAURUS, *through which lay the route of* Cyrus—*Positions of the Tracts of* Isauria, Phrygia-Parorias, *and* Lycaonia—*Review of the Army, in the Plain of* Tyriæum.

THE description of the march of the army of CYRUS, from *Sardis* to *Celænæ*, in the Anabasis, is very brief; and, abstracted from the record of the geographical stations, and the arrivals of detachments of European troops, is almost totally destitute of

interest: nor does it become much more interesting, until the arrival of the army in CILICIA; when the secret of its destination could no longer be concealed from the Greeks. In effect, it was little more than a journal of the route, interspersed with a few occasional remarks.

The intentions of Cyrus were penetrated very early by Tissaphernes; yet the course of his march, at the first, was not such as to point exclusively towards BABYLONIA, nor until he had passed *Iconium*. But having then passed *beyond* the country of the PISIDIANS, against whom the preparations were pretended to have been made; and having also permitted the Greeks to plunder LYCAONIA, regarding it as an enemy's country; the individuals of his army must have began to suspect the truth; which was known to Clearchus *alone*, amongst the Greeks: as we learn from Xenophon, who declares it, as well as his own ignorance. (Lib. III. c. 3.)

Previous, then, to his taking the direct route towards Babylon (the residence of the King of Persia at that time), his marches must be supposed to be directed, partly with a view to deceive the king, in respect of the Pisidian expedition; * but more to collect his detachments of troops, and supplies of provisions and necessaries, that were doubtless prepared for him, in different parts of the country. Upwards of 5000 of his Grecian auxiliaries joined him, after he had crossed the *Mæander* river into PHRYGIA.†

* Xenophon does not say what provinces Cyrus was entrusted with, by his brother: but under his father, his government consisted of *Lydia*, the *Greater Phrygia*, and *Cappadocia*: in effect, the great body of Asia Minor. The *Pisidians*, who inhabited the difficult parts of Mount Taurus, bordering on Phrygia, had been but imperfectly reduced to obedience.

† See the map of the route, in detail, No. II.

At the outset, instead of taking the more direct route from *Sardis*, eastward, to *Celænæ*, by leaving *M. Messogis* to the south, and traversing the plains described by M. Taverniere and Dr. Griffith; Cyrus proceeded first to the south-east, in the line towards the present town of Degnislu; near to which he crossed the ridge of *Messogis;* and afterwards the *Mæander*, at the end of the *third* march, (as it is said); and thence to *Colossæ*, on the *fourth*. (*Anabasis*, Lib. I. c. 5.)

This road to the *Mæander*, is a part of that, used in the present times, by the caravans between *Smyrna* and Syria, Satalia, &c.: and passed through the *Plain of Cyrus*,* to the *site* of *Philadelphia;* coasting the north-east side of Mount *Tmolus:* and thence, crossing the Mæander, to *that* of *Laodicea ad Lycum*,† near the conflux of the *Lycus* with the Mæander. The ruins, taken for those of Colossæ, are at $11\frac{1}{2}$ G. miles to the east of Laodicea, on a branch of the *Lycus*.

The Mæander, said to be two *plethra* or 200 feet in breadth, was crossed at the distance of 22 *parasangas* from Sardis; and 8 more brought them to *Colossæ*. These 30 parasangas, equal on the scale of Xenophon to 90 Roman miles, give a *direct* distance of $64\frac{1}{4}$ geographic miles; and agree within $4\frac{1}{4}$ miles of our construction; which has $68\frac{1}{2}$. The Antonine Itinerary and Theodosian Tables, allow 73 and 76 MP. respectively from Sardis to *Hierapolis;* equal to $54\frac{1}{4}$ G. miles, at the highest: and Colossæ appears to be about 10 from Hierapolis.‡

* That plain in which Cyrus the Great gained the decisive victory over Crœsus. More will be said concerning it in the sequel.

† *Philadelphia*, *Laodicea*, and *Hierapolis*, being Macedonian foundations, were not of course in existence at that time.

‡ See again the Map, No. II.

This furnishes a very satisfactory proof of the general truth of Xenophon's report of the distance, within this interval: but 90 Roman miles, at least equal to 83 British; and extended by the authority of the map of construction to 85, is too great a distance to be marched over in 4 days, by a very great army. If the number is correct, they must have been *forced* marches: but no object appears to require them: and there is, therefore, probably, a mistake in the number of marches.

The next 3 marches to Celænæ, are rated at 20 parasangas, or 56 B. miles; but the construction requires about 60; so that the rate of marching, from *Sardis* to *Celænæ*, during 7 days, (with an intermediate halt of the same number of days, at *Colossæ*), would be about $20\frac{3}{4}$ B. miles, at a mean. And the rate, on each interval, being so nearly alike, may render it doubtful whether Cyrus made forced marches to accomplish some particular purpose, which cannot at present be understood; or whether there is an error in the number of marches: for after he left Celænæ, the general rate of marching is more moderate, and approaches to the standard of the mean march. One circumstance is much against the idea of forced marches; which is, the long halt at Colossæ, between the first 4, and the last 3 marches.

It appears, however, that the *given distance* of 50 parasangas differs no more than $\frac{1}{24}$ part from the construction; the one giving 139, the other 145 B. miles. But this space is equal to 10 mean marches, instead of the 7 given.

Of *Colossæ*, famous on the score of St. Paul's Epistles to its inhabitants, four centuries afterwards, so few traces remain, that the Drs. Pocock and Picinini, found some difficulty in ascertaining its site; but which, it cannot well be doubted, is

at Konous, 5 hours of travelling to the eastward of Degnislu. Xenophon describes it to have been "a large city; rich and "well inhabited." It is probable that the subsequent foundations of the Macedonian cities of *Laodicea* and *Hierapolis*, occasioned the decline of *Colossæ;* both of which have disappeared, in their turn, and have left no other representative, than the small town of Degnislu, or Denislu.

The position of *Celænæ*, as well as that of *Apamia Cibotus*, (which succeeded it, as the capital of that part of the country, and stood very near it), is determined by the distance of the latter from *Synnada*, on the one hand; *Hierapolis*, on the *Mæander*, on the other: as is shewn by the Theodosian tables.* It receives also a slight check from the march of Alexander from the quarter of *Sagalassus*. These notices agree in placing *Celænæ* at Sandukly, a modern town of some consideration, situated on one of the heads of the *Mæander* (now Meinder), which was generally allowed to have its principal source at *Celænæ*. (See Map, No. II.) This branch of the *Mæander* is formed by some fine springs, which flow from the foot of a ridge of lofty hills; as is reported of those at *Celænæ*.

But, although its place on the map may be satisfactorily determined, yet it is *only on the map* that it is at all determined: for no *European* traveller has yet pointed out any remains:

* It may be proper to state in this place that *Hierapolis* is determined in position, by the journal and observations of Dr. Chandler: and *Synnada*, by the marches of the Consul Manlius from *Pisidia* to *Galatia*; (Livy, lib. 38, c. 14). He came to it in one short march from *Dinæ* (Bulawadin), and at 5 MP. short of *Beudos Vetus* (Bayad, or The *Ancient*). In this situation, according to Dr. Pocock (Vol. II. part 2, p. 85), there are found considerable remains, named by the people of the country, *Herjan*; and which appear to answer to *Synnada*.

although it is known from the *natives*, that there are ancient remains at Sandukly.

The discussion of the geographical position of this place, involves too many particulars to be allowed a place here: but it will hereafter be found in the observations on the Roman roads in Asia Minor, in a separate work.*

Xenophon says of *Celænæ*, that it was "a city of *Phrygia*, "large, rich, and well inhabited: here the palace of Cyrus "stood, with a large *park* full of wild beasts, which Cyrus "hunted on horseback, when he had a mind to exercise him-"self and his horses. Through the middle of this park, runs "the river *Mæander*; but the head of it rises in the palace: "it runs also through the city of *Celænæ*. There is, besides, "a fortified palace belonging to the great king in *Celænæ*, at

* The following is an abstract of that discussion. The Theodosian Tables give 73 MP. between *Synnada* and *Apamia*, through *Euphorbium*: and from *Hierapolis* to *Apamia*, 72. The interval of space on the geographical construction, agrees with the aggregate of 145, within a mile: for Sandukly lies almost exactly between the two. *Apamia* appears to have been a very few miles only, lower down the river than *Celænæ*.

Alexander is said by Arrian (lib. I.) to have made 5 marches between *Sagalassus* and *Celænæ*; passing by the salt lake *Ascanias* (Burdoor), in the way. The distance agrees to Sandukly.

On the other hand, the *forum* of the *Kramians*, taken for Kermian, or Kutahiah, was 22 parasangas, or 47 G. miles direct, from *Celænæ*, in Xenophon's march. General Koehler reckoned 25 hours; equal to $51\frac{1}{4}$ G. miles, direct, between Sandukly and Kutahiah: and hence, considering that the distances in question, are *computed*, (at least, all but those on the Roman roads), it may be allowed that *Celænæ* occupies nearly its proper position, in ancient geography.

Sandukly was also visited by Dr. Pocock: but he regarded Ashkly (or Ishakli), a place situated about 20 miles farther to the SW. as the site of *Celænæ*. However, Ashkly not only differs widely in point of situation, from what the context of the geographical construction requires; but is also too far removed from the upper part of the course of the *Mæander*, to be at all considered as being near the head of that river, as the description requires.

" the head of the river *Marsyas*, under the citadel. This river, " likewise, runs through the city and falls into the *Mæander*." (Lib. I. c. 5.)

Celænæ appears to have been the grand *rendezvous* of Cyrus's army; and here he staid no less than 30 days. Menon, the Thessalian, had joined him at *Colossæ*, with 1500 men; and at this place, Clearchus and others arrived with a further aid of 3700. The whole body of Greeks was now *said* to amount to nearly 13,000; of which, 11,000 were heavy armed. But this account does not agree with the numbers reviewed before the battle (of *Cunaxa*): taking into the account the reinforcements at Issus.*

* Here follows a detail of the numbers:

	Heavy Armed.	Light.	Total.
Joined at Sardis:			
With Xenias	4000	...	
Proxenus	1500	500	
Sophænetus (Stymphalian)	1000	...	8200
Socrates	500	...	
Pasion	...	700	
At Colossæ:			
Menon	1000	500	1500
At Celænæ:			
Clearchus	1000	700	
Sosias	1000	...	3700
Sophænetus (Arcadian)	1000	...	
At *Celænæ*, according to the detail	11,000	2400	13,400

Xenophon says there were 11,000 heavy armed, and *about* 2000 light armed, reviewed at *Celænæ*.

At Issus, there came with			
Cheirisophus	700	...	1100
From Abrocomas	400	...	
Grand Total,	12,100	2400	14,500
At the review, 3 days before the battle, there were only	10,400	2400	12,800

Here is a difference of 1700 men; and that difference lies amongst the heavy armed. And it will be observed, that the aggregate and the detail agree nearly at the review at

From *Celænæ*, Cyrus marched to *Peltæ*, in two marches of 5 parasangas each; answering to about 14 of our miles. This place appears to have lain to the northward from *Celænæ:* as well as the next station, the *forum* of the *Kramians;* situated 12 parasangas beyond *Peltæ;* and which was also accomplished in two marches.

And here it becomes necessary, as well for the purpose of establishing the positions of the two last stations; as to remove the difficulties that occur, respecting the future ones; to step at once from *Peltæ* to *Iconium*, which is the first position that can with *absolute certainty* be recognised in this route, after *Celænæ;* although 17 or 18 marches distant. The detail of the marches from *Celænæ*, is given thus: (Lib. 1. c. 6, 7, and 8.)

Celænæ to *Peltæ*	2 marches		10 paras.
Thence to the *Kramians*	2		12
To the plain of *Caystrus*	3 given: (more probably 5 or 6)	}	30
To *Thymbrium*	2		10
To *Tyriæum*	2		10
To *Iconium*	3		20

Here are 70 parasangas from the *Kramians* to *Iconium;* equal to about 150 G. miles, taken in *direct distance:* but a correction is first to be made, between *Tyriæum* and *Iconium;* founded on a fact that occurs in Strabo.

Tyriæum, in the above table, is given at 20 *paras.* short of Iconium, equal to 43 G. miles, *direct.* Since the time of

Celænæ. Who can decide? One is rather inclined to adopt the numbers at the review before the battle; as no losses of any consequence are stated to have happened, previously. Possibly, the error lies in the number brought by *Xenias*, in the first article.

Xenophon, *Laodicea Combusta* was founded, at 9 hours of traveling, to the N.W. of Iconium: and the Theodosian Tables furnish a line of distance, from *Laodicea* to *Synnada*, passing through *Philomelium*, (a city of some note) which is placed at 28 M. P. or 20 G. miles from Laodicea; 67 M. P. or $47\frac{3}{4}$ G. miles from Synnada.* And accordingly, if 20 G. miles be allowed for the 9 hours, between Iconium and Laodicea, Philomelium should be 40 such miles from Iconium; and to the north-west; which will fall into the line of Cyrus's march.

Now Strabo (p. 663.) in describing a Route from *Ephesus* to the Euphrates, at *Tomisa*, brings us FIRST to *Philomelium* IN THE WAY to *Tyriarium*; (doubtless the *Tyriæum* above recorded). Consequently then, if *Philomelium* was no more than 40 G. miles short of *Iconium*, *Tyriæum*, which lay still nearer to *Iconium*, could not have been 20 parasangas, or 43 such miles from it! The probability therefore is, that the three marches, instead of being of nearly 7 parasangas each, as given in the Anabasis, were only of the ordinary length, or about 5: and in consequence only 15 or 16 parasangas may be reckoned; which will place Tyriæum about 6 miles to the *eastward* of Philomelium, instead of the opposite side; as the text of Xenophon would make it. It is out of all probability too, when there was no enemy within 200 miles, that the former four marches should be of 5 paras. each, and the three latter of nearly 7 each.

Having thus placed *Tyriæum*, it will be found that the corrected distance between the *Kramians* and *Iconium* will be $141\frac{1}{2}$

* The space between *Philomelium* and *Laodicea*, is a portion of the great Roman road from *Nicomedia* to *Tarsus*, through *Dorylæum* and *Iconium*.

G. miles *direct*, instead of the 150 given by the text: as also that $141\frac{1}{2}$ being laid off, on the modern road from *Iconium* (Kuniyah) through Ilgoun, and Akshaher, will fall at about $5\frac{1}{2}$ *beyond* Kutahiah; the present capital of a Sanjak of the same name: and known in Roman times under the name of *Cotyæum*. And moreover, that the 22 parasangas, equal to 47 G. miles, laid off from Sandukly, considered as *Celænæ*, for the distance from thence to the *Kramians*, will reach within 4 or 5 miles of Kutahiah; * whence, of course, the distances agree generally, in placing the *Forum of the Kramians* at or near Kutahiah.†

There is another circumstance to be mentioned in favour of the argument. The Turkish Geography of Anadoli states, that "the province of Kutahiah" (which answers nearly to *Phrygia Pacatiana*) "was named *Kermian* from the name of "the family of its former (or first) masters." This indeed, *appears* to mean a Mahomedan Dynasty; but it may also be meant for a more ancient name. It is certain, however, that both of the names prevail; and that the root of *Cotyæum* still subsists in Kutahiah.

The general agreement of the distances, ancient and modern, between the supposed position of the *Kramians* and

* General Koehler reckoned 25 hours between Sandukly and Kutahiah; his general date was 2,05 G. miles *per* hour; whence the result would be $51\frac{1}{4}$ G. miles between Sandukly and Kutahiah.

† It appeared on the geographical construction of this quarter, that the distance arising on the mean time, given between Kutahiah and Iconium, is 136 G. miles, or $5\frac{1}{2}$ less than the above result. So that it falls short of Xenophon's report by 14 G. miles, or about $6\frac{1}{2}$ of *bis* parasangas: 4 of which have been deducted from the 20, between *Tyriæum* and *Iconium*. But there are still $2\frac{1}{2}$ in excess: and which perhaps may be placed to the account of over-rating the distance. The final difference, therefore, is small.

Iconium, proves to a certainty the error in the number of marches given between the *Kramians* and the *Plain of Caystrus*. For, if the text was followed, the three marches must have been of 28 miles each! It may be proper also to remark, in this place, that the aggregate number of marches, summed up in the History, between *Ephesus* and the *field of battle* in *Babylonia*, exceeds the detail between *Sardis* and *that field*, by 7. Of these, between 3 and 4 may be deducted for the 63 M. P. between *Ephesus* and *Sardis*: and then three or four remain to be accounted for. Possibly then, it should have been 5 or 6, instead of 3 marches, between the *Kramians* and *Caystrus*. (See above page 26.)

Here it is proper to mention some circumstances respecting the position of *Peltæ*. It will be seen by the map No. II. that as the *Forum of the Kramians* falls at Kutahiah, Cyrus should have gone in a *northerly* direction, during the four marches to that place from *Celænæ*, (or Sandukly); whilst the general direction of his route was *easterly*. This might appear extraordinary, unless it was recollected that Cyrus was then making preparations for his expedition; and was probably taking away the provisions and stores that had been collected for him, at different stations, situated within his government: for he may be said to have commenced his undeviating route towards his brother's capital, only at the *Forum of the Kramians*.

Now *Peltæ* is not distinctly recognised in modern geography, but may probably be the same with the *Peloti* of Edrisi (page 237), described to be situated in the road from *Tarsus* to *Abydus* (meaning the *Asian* castle of the Dardanelles). This road passes through *Belguessa*, taken for the *Belgers* of Paul Lucas: and if the distance between this latter, and the Asian

Castle, as given by Edrisi, be proportioned (for it falls short on the whole interval, on our construction, by about 11 miles), the position of *Peloti* falls in the place where we should have placed *Peltæ:* that is, at two marches from Sandukly, towards Kutahiah; considered respectively, as *Celænæ*, and the *Forum* of the *Kramians*.

Having thus adjusted the line of Cyrus's march between the *Kramians* and *Iconium*, in respect of the geographical construction, it will be proper to give certain particulars respecting the principal places on the road; and also concerning the physical geography of the countries, in which they are situated.

Kutahiah (or the *forum* of the *Kramians*), stands on the modern great road from Brusa (*olim Prusa ad Olympum*) to Cilicia, Syria, and Cyprus; through Iconium, &c.; and which, as well from the line of direction, as the nature of the country, was doubtless the general line of the ancient road, also. When therefore, Cyrus had arrived at Kutahiah, he would of course follow that road, which for upwards of 200 miles, leads through a succession of deep and extensive vallies, adjacent to the northern foot of the *Pisidian* and *Cilician* Taurus.* On this supposition he would pass from the site of Kutahiah, to that of Karahissar (*Aufium*); and thence by those of Sakli, (or Ishakli),† Akshaher, Ilgoun, and Laodicea, to Iconium, or Kuniyah. (See the Maps No. I. and II.)

The first station mentioned, beyond the *Kramians*, is the *Plain* of *Caystrus:* said to be "a well peopled *city*." It is to be con-

* See Mr. Baldwin's Journal in Col. Capper's Book of Travels. The author has also been obligingly furnished with the Journals of Major Leake, and Professor Carlyle, over the same ground.

† Not the Ishakli, taken by Dr. Pocock, for Celænæ.

cluded, of course, that it was a city in a plain, named *Caystrus:* and which plain, answers unequivocally to that, which extends between Aufium Karahissar, and Ladik (*Laodicea Combusta*); and which is a part of the above succession of flat vallies, or plains. It answers to the tract named by Strabo, *Phrygia Parorias;* extending along the northern range of *Taurus.*

The distance given from the *Kramians* to *Caystrus*, 30 parasangas, falls near Sakli, beforementioned; a town where the roads from Constantinople, Brusa, and Smyrna, pointing towards Syria, meet: and where, the country being fertile and well watered, a town is likely to have stood, in all civilized times. It may therefore, with some degree of probability, be supposed, that the city of *Caystrus* stood in this general position.*

In order to understand the general nature of the tract, into which Cyrus had now entered, contiguous to the northern side of the region of Mount Taurus, it is proper to state, that there are several parallel ridges, and some of those very lofty, connected with the greater chain of Taurus, on the side towards *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia.* These, the ancients do not appear to have regarded as members of Taurus.

* Sakli, as we learn from Dr. Pocock, and others, is also called *Seleukter.* Probably, it was one of the many cities, that were named *Seleucia.* If Seleucus, the victor in the battle named from *Ipsus*, (which decided the fate of Empire in Lower Asia, after the death of Alexander,) founded any city in commemoration of that victory, this may possibly be the place. The position of *Ipsus* has never been determined; but was said to be *near Synnada.* Sakli, however, is 25 miles from Synnada, to the southward; and precisely at the point of separation of the two roads that led to *Ephesus*, and to *Byzantium*, respectively, in the way from Syria.

Now the contending armies approached each other, along the great road leading from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, through the centre of Asia Minor, towards Synnada: and it is not

The spaces included between these secondary ridges and the principal one, may be considered as elevated vallies: an intermediate step, between the high level of Taurus, and the common level of the interior of Asia Minor. Some of them are of extent sufficient to form large provinces: and contain lakes, salt as well as fresh; formed of the waters from the adjacent heights; but pent up, by the inferior ridges.

Beginning from the westward, the first of these vallies included the *original* country of *Isauria*;* noted for the extreme roughness and strength of its natural defences; situated in the recesses of its surrounding barrier of mountains. A second valley, but of a nature perfectly accessible, contains the just mentioned country of *Phrygia Parorias.* It is beautiful and well watered: in position, parallel to, and adjacent to *Isauria*, on the north; but a step lower, in point of level. Here too, improbable that the army already in possession of Asia Minor, should post itself, so as to command both of the western roads abovementioned. The nature of the country, too, which consists of a well watered and fruitful valley, of no great breadth, but of vast length; formed by two parallel ridges, and having the great road leading through the centre of it, would make it an eligible post for an army, appointed to the defence of Asia Minor. This valley constituted the tract of *Phrygia Parorias*, before-mentioned.

The low mountains that cover the plain of Sakli to the north, are named in that part *Kesbier:* but whether this has any connexion with *Caystrus*, must be left to the judgment of the reader.

* Here it may be proper to mention, that the name *Isauria* has been applied to different tracts of country, in different ages: or rather, has been extended from the country originally so named, (which lay to the northward of the great ridge of *Taurus*, and constituted a part of *Pisidia* at large), to the country of *Cilicia Trachea*, which lay (obliquely to the former), to the southward of *Taurus.* The subject has been confused; and it may be suspected, that Strabo himself did not clearly understand it. He appears to apply the name exclusively to *Cilicia Trachea:* but Pliny includes *both*, in his description.

the waters are all pent up, by a ridge, which is the *second* from the *main ridge* of Taurus; *Isauria* lying between.*

A third valley, more extensive than either of the former, included the country of *Lycaonia* (now Kuniyah): more resembling *Parorias Phrygia* than *Isauria:* being composed generally of large plains, subject to inundations; although a part of its waters escape northward, and form the western branch of the *Halys*. The ridge which shuts up *Lycaonia* to the north, is, in effect, a continuation of *Anti-Taurus*, westward: although Strabo limits that ridge to *Cataonia*.† On the SW. and SE., *Lycaonia* borders on *Pisidia* and on *Cilicia*.

A fourth valley (still going eastward) is that of *Tyana*, bordering on the *Cilician Taurus;* and containing the famous pass denominated occasionally from *Tyana;* but more commonly named *the Pass of Cilicia*, from the circumstance of the great military road leading through it, into Cilicia.

These are the vallies, which form the series, through which the route of Cyrus lay: and immediately on the east of *Tyana*, but *beyond* the line of his route, commences the very famous, rich, and extensive valley of *Cataonia;* anciently celebrated for its containing the Temple of *Comana* of *Cappadocia;* whose site is now recognised in Bostan.

There is however, no doubt, but that in latter times, the name was appropriated to *Cilicia Trachea:* for Ammianus Marcellinus describes *Isauria* as a *Maritime* country, absolutely. And it may be conceived, that at that time, the original *Isauria* had merged into the larger country of *Pisidia:* and was no longer known as a part of *Isauria.*

* These parallel ridges, which thus confine the tract of *Phrygia Parorias* (the modern valley of Akshahr) are respectively named *Sultan Dag* and *Emir Dag:* Sultan Dag being to the south, the other to the north. *Kesheir-dag* just mentioned, is a portion of *Emir-dag*.

† The mountains which cover *Lycaonia* on the north, are called by the Turks *Foodal Baba*.

Cyrus may be supposed to have entered the first of this series of vallies, near the present Karahissar (Aufium); and to have quitted the last, at the pass of *Tyana* or *Cilicia*.

From *Caystrus*, where we left Cyrus, he came in two marches, rated at 10 parasangas, to *Thymbrium*, a populous town;* which was situated at a like distance, short of *Tyriæum;* before spoken of. Thymbrium ought therefore, to be at, or near the Karatapé of M. Niebuhr's map: nearly midway between Akshaher and Alguid (or Arkid) Khan of the same map: 8 miles short of Ilgoun, the supposed site of *Philomelium*.† The route was still through the valley of *Parorias* Phrygia: but which appears to terminate there; being separated from *Lycaonia*, by a hilly tract; on the edge of which, stood the town of *Laodicea Combusta* now named *Jorgan-Ladik*.

It was in the plain of *Tyriæum* that Cyrus reviewed his whole army, in order to gratify the queen of *Cilicia;* who had joined him at *Caystrus*.‡

The three marches between *Tyriæum* and *Iconium*, have already been spoken of.

* This place was mistaken by M. D'Anville, for another of much the same name, where Cyrus the Great overcame Crœsus (*Cyrop.* lib. vii.) But that field was evidently, by what followed, very near to Sardis: and is to be looked for, in the great plain, which opens to the eastward of Sardis, between Mount *Tmolus*, and the river *Hermus:* and which appears to be the *Cyrus Campus* of Strabo, page 629. Many *Tumuli* are now seen there: the modern name of the plain is from *Darius:* meaning *Royal*.

† The river Ilgoun is named *Baliam*, or *Paliam*, at this time.

‡ The Greeks were here drawn up *four deep*; whether it was the practice of that time, or to make the greatest display of the force; for in the Macedonian *Phalanx, five* ranks presented their pikes to the front, according to Polybius.

CHAPTER III.

FROM ICONIUM TO MYRIANDRUS; SITUATED AT THE GULF OF ISSUS.

ROUTE *of* Cyrus, *through* Lycaonia *towards* Tyana, *near the northern foot of the* Cilician Taurus—*The geographical position of* Tyana, *discussed*—*Passes of* Taurus *and* Amanus, *discriminated*—*Pass of* Cilicia—*gates of* Syria, *and* Cilicia; *or the* Maritime *pass*—*the two passes of* Amanus—*General Remarks*—*Cyrus, by a wide circuit, gains the Pass of* Cilicia, *at* Tyana; *whilst* Menon *goes by a more direct, but difficult Route*—*Description of the Pass of* Cilicia, *by* Xenophon, *and by* Quintus Curtius—*Transactions at* Tyana *or* Dana—*Plain of Cyrus*—Cyrus *descends through* Cilicia Campestris, *to* Tarsus—*Characteristic description of that Country, by* Xenophon—Cyrus *detained* 20 *days at* Tarsus, *through the unwillingness of the Auxiliaries, to proceed against the* Great King—*their scruples removed, by an Increase of Pay*—*March to* Issus; *with a comparison of the distance marched, with the Roman Itineraries, and with the modern Reports*—Issus—*Last reinforcement of* Grecian Auxiliaries, *arrives at* Issus—*Description of the Pass called the* Gates *of* Syria *and* Cilicia; *by* Xenophon—*His description differs totally from that by* Arrian; *as relating to a different Site: but both are perfectly clear and intelligible*—

Intended mode of attack, of the Pass by Cyrus; but rendered unnecessary, by the retreat of the Enemy—Port and City of Myriandrus*; a* Phoenician *Establishment—its Port now filled up by Alluvions; and the site far inland—*Cyrus *finally leaves the Sea Coast, and advances into* Syria.

FROM *Iconium* (at which place Cyrus made a halt of 3 days) his route led through the valley and country of *Lycaonia*, during five days march; which are given collectively, at 30 parasangas. This distance would bring him to a point nearly opposite to the site of the present Erekli: from whence the modern roads (and no doubt, the ancient ones, also) branch off to *Tarsus* CIRCUITOUSLY by *Tyana*, on the NE.; and to Tarsus DIRECT, by the SE. It being the object of Cyrus, to gain the pass of Cilicia, by the former route, he would of course, leave the site of Erekli some miles to the southward; to prevent a needless *detour*.* That place stands at a few miles from the northern foot of the principal ridge of Mount Taurus; and at the eastern extremity of the valley of *Lycaonia;* for Xenophon remarks, that the end of the five marches from *Iconium*, *Lycaonia* terminated, and *Cappadocia* began. And here he entered the valley of *Tyana*.†

In order to explain the advantages arising from the use of the route by *Tyana* to *Tarsus*, although nearly twice as long

* See the Map, No. II.

† It is not known what the ancient name of Erekli was; but it was probably one of the many places of the name of *Heraclea*. Many, including the author himself, have taken it for *Archelais Colonia*; but that place not only stood much nearer to *Ancyra*, but was situated in *Cappadocia:* whilst the site of Erekli was in the tract anciently named *Lycaonia*, now Kuniyah.

as the other; it must be understood, that the ridge of Taurus, opposite to the town of Tyana, is contracted into a narrow space, or neck; affording a short passage from the plain of *Tyana*, into the vales of *Cilicia*. But the direct route crosses a very wide mountainous belt; so as to detain ordinary travellers 25 hours within it: and in certain places, presents obstacles to the progress of an army.* Cyrus, therefore, wisely determined to pursue the former route; but sent the Cilician queen, by the other, under the escort of Menon, the Thessalian. Cyrus himself, at the head of the grand army, reached *Tyana* in 4 marches from the station (opposite to Erekli) where Menon separated. These marches are given at 25 parasangas: and with the 30 from *Iconium*, make up an aggregate of about 152 British miles: giving nearly 17 for each of the nine marches. (See again the Map, No. II.)

Accordingly, these 9 marches are *beyond* the ordinary length, for so large a body of men: nor is there any mention made of any intervening halts. It is true, that the two intervals of 5, and 4 days, are well proportioned to the respective distances: but then, they are equal to 6 marches for the first; 5 for the latter. It may have been, however, that they were lengthened in order to accomplish some plan of co-operation, with the fleet and detachment, expected at Tarsus; concerning which more will be said, in the sequel:†

* The principal Roman road from Asia Minor to Syria and Egypt, led through the pass of *Tyana*: and most probably, the great military road had always crossed Taurus at that point; for the reasons just stated.

† The geographical position of *Tyana* depends on so many lines of distance, and circumstances, and those so much implicated, that the investigation took up several pages, in the Memoir respecting the Roman roads in Asia Minor, which will hereafter

From the circumstance of there being *several* passes leading into *Cilicia*, from the quarters of *Cappadocia* and *Syria*, much confusion has arisen, as well in ancient, as in modern times; from the want of their being more clearly discriminated. It will therefore be necessary to give the reader a general idea of their situation and description, in order that those made use of by Cyrus and Xenophon, (as well as by Alexander), may be distinctly understood.

These passes are in number FOUR.*

The FIRST is properly the CILICIAN pass; leading over Mount *Taurus*, from the province of *Tyana* in *Cappadocia*, into CILICIA. Through this pass, Cyrus, Alexander, and Cicero (in his war with the *Amanenses*) entered Cilicia, in their way towards Syria. Through this pass also, the Roman road led: it being, as we have stated, the great military road, not only in the time of the Romans, but apparently, in that of the ancient Persian empire, also. And although there may be a difference

accompany the work intended to illustrate the geography of that celebrated Peninsula. The documents for the position of Tyana are, almost exclusively, ancient.

In a general point of view, it is determined in parallel, by its distance of 75 MP. in the Jerusalem Itinerary from Tarsus, northward; and in easting, by the distance of 39 MP. from *Baratha*, in the Theodosian Tables: taken for the *Bour*, which arises in the road from Erekli to Kisariah: and which accords with 55 parasangas of Xenophon, from *Iconium*. Again, it receives a check from the side of Kisariah, by its distance from Anabil, considered as the *Andabilis* of the Itineraries. This latter place was 16 MP. from *Tyana*, towards *Ancyra* (Anguri); and Anabil is 13 hours from Kisariah, through Develi-Kara-Hissar; which is itself 7 from Kisariah. There is no cross line of distance from the eastward, to *Tyana*.

The author is indebted to M. Niebuhr for the information respecting *Anabil*; without which, it would have been impossible to have formed the above combination of positions.

* See the detailed plan of the Gulf of *Issus*, and its environs, in Map, No. II.

of opinion, concerning the *exact position* of this pass, there can be no danger of confounding it, with any of the others.

The SECOND is that, formed by the near approach of the foot of mount *Amanus* to the *Sinus Issicus:* and it has therefore this characteristic distinction, that it is a *maritime* pass; whereas, all the others are situated *inland.* As it forms a prominent feature in the warfare both of Cyrus and of Alexander, it is consequently spoken of by their respective historians, Xenophon and Arrian: but it is proper to apprize the reader, that their descriptions refer to *distinct sites;* although *very near* to each other: that of Xenophon being in a narrow plain, contiguous to the sea; and that of Arrian, at the ascent of the hills that shut up the same plain, at a short distance towards the south: and also as near the sea, as such a situation would admit.*

To this pass, different names have been applied; and different positions assigned. Arrian, in one place, names it the *Persian Gates;* and in another, the strait that divides *Cilicia* from *Assyria.*† Xenophon says, *the gates of Cilicia and Syria;* because, in his time, the narrow plain by the sea, (which *then* constituted the pass) was shut up, with a double wall and gates: one looking towards *Cilicia;* the other towards *Syria.*

Strabo does not seem to have been aware of the existence of any such pass, or passes. Neither of them, perhaps, appeared to him, at that day, to possess the character of a pass; which is undoubtedly that, of partaking of the nature of a *defile.* For as he lived at about 400 years after Xenophon, the plain in which the *lower* pass was situated, might in that course of time, have been widened by accretion (since it is now become,

* See again the same plan.

† That is, *Assyria* at large; of which *Syria* made a part.

by that process, a wide plain) so as to have lost all resemblance to the description in Xenophon; and that, without exciting in the mind of Strabo, any idea of so great a change. And the *upper* pass was only such, as far as regarded the straitening of the front of the assailant, who might attack it.

But one is surprised to think how any reader of military history, (and such Strabo must surely have been), could possibly reconcile the history of the warfare of Alexander and Darius, in this place; any more than the movements of Cyrus; without conceiving the existence of a maritime pass, between *Issus* and *Myriandrus*. For, in the one case, ships were to be employed in the attack of the pass: in the other, a boat was sent from *Myriandrus along shore* to *reconnoitre* the Persians at *Issus;* the pass lying between!

Nor would it appear that Strabo had a clear idea of the ground, around the *Gulph* of *Issus:* because his description is so very general, when it was required to be particular. But concerning the *lower* or inland pass of *Amanus*, he seems to have been very well informed.*

To prevent confusion between the pass at the *sea side*, which is the subject of the present article; and those which lead *over*, or *through*, mount *Amanus*, it may be convenient to name this, the MARITIME pass.†

* Strabo, page 676.

† Ptolemy describes two passes. One of these is on the shore of the gulf of *Issus*, and at the place, where Mount *Amanus* closes on that shore. It occupies, in effect, the place of the *maritime* pass, in respect of *Issus*; but he names it the *Gates* of *Amanus*. One may surely suppose that he intended the maritime pass.

The other pass is inland; and occupies the place of Strabo's *Gates* of *Amanus* (*our lower* pass;) but it is named by Ptolemy, the *Syrian Gates*. And indeed the name, taken absolutely, is a very proper one: since it is the entrance into Syria, through

The THIRD pass is that named by Strabo the *Amanides Pylæ*, or "*Gates* of *Amanus*:" and is the pass, by which the ordinary road from the sea coast of the gulf of *Issus*, leads into the inland parts of Syria, through the mountains behind Alexandretta. It is situated at the southern termination of the chain of *Amanus;* and serves to connect it with that of *Pieria*, by a narrow neck, which itself constitutes the pass. This is named in modern times from the village of Bylan; and answers to the *Pictanus* of the Jerusalem Itinerary. 9 M. P. inland from *Alexandria*. (See again the gulf of *Issus* in No. II.)

This pass is in effect the LOWER, or southern pass of *Amanus*. Strabo, it has been said, was well informed, respecting it. For in page 676, he says, after mentioning *Ægææ*, "then "come the *Amanides Pylæ*, or *Gates* of *Amanus*, having a place "fit for a harbour. At these gates, M. *Amanus* terminates:* "a mountain branching from *Taurus*, and overhanging the "eastern frontier of *Cilicia*."†

Also in page 751, he says, "contiguous to *Gindarus*, there "is, in the territory of *Antioch*, a place called *Pagræ*, strongly "fortified, and situate upon the ascent of mount *Amanus*, lead-"ing from the gates of *Amanus* into Syria."†

Here then, is the same pass, described from the opposite quarters. First from the side of the gulf of *Issus*, where it

Amanus. But no other person seems to have applied the name of *Amanus* to the pass on the shore of the Gulf of *Issus*; although it be formed by the near approach of *Amanus* to the shore: for the passes of *Amanus* were more properly those which led across it.

* In page 751, Strabo says, "Near the sea is the city *Seleucia*, and *Pieria*, a moun-tain *contiguous* to *Amanus*." So that *Pieria* is included between the pass of *Amanus* and *Seleucia*. This fact also serves to shew that Strabo's gates of *Amanus*, answer to the pass of Bylan.

† These passages were translated by Dr. Gillies.

is said, there is a place proper for a port: and which one naturally refers to the recess of the gulf, towards *Myriandrus;* which recess, before the filling up of the bay, by alluvions, may be supposed to have approached the foot of the ascent, leading up to the pass. And secondly, it is given with more detail, from the plain of *Antioch;* above which plain, *Pagræ*, or *Pagris* is recognised in Begras, a fort on the ascent of *Amanus*; and at the opening towards the plain, of the *Gap* which contains the pass in question: and which forms the separation between *Amanus* and *Pieria.*

The FOURTH, and last pass to be considered, here, is the *upper* or northern pass of *Amanus*. This leads partly *over*, and partly *through* the chain of *Amanus*, a little to the southward of *Issus;* and apparently, opens into the valley, through which the river *Pinarus* descends. This, and the foregoing pass, should be the *two* passes through *Amanus*, mentioned by Cicero: and the upper one is that, by which Darius came to *Issus*, whilst Alexander lay behind him, at *Myriandrus.* It appears to have been unknown to Strabo; although no clear conception of the movements of Alexander and Darius, could take place, without supposing the existence of such a pass; as well as a maritime pass.*

* The author possesses no means of fixing the *precise* situation of this pass: but in point of parallel, it must lie between the *maritime* strait and *Issus*; because Darius, who passed through it in his way from *Syria* to Issus, avoided the maritime pass, and came into *Cilicia*, near *Issus*; and also appears to have fled through it, by way of the valley that opened into the field of battle. And moreover because Cicero, when he took a position for covering Cilicia from the threatened attack of the Parthians, from Syria, through *both* of the passes of *Amanus*, formed his camp *a little* to the *northward* of Issus.

Dr. Patrick Russell had occasion to know, personally, that there was a direct com-

Cyrus's route led him through the *first three* of these passes; although the last of the three, the *lower* pass of *Amanus*, is not spoken of, by Xenophon. One can only account for this silence, by their having met with no opposition there: the enemy having fled, from the maritime pass, towards the Euphrates; and abandoned all idea of making a stand, short of *Babylonia*.*

In order to prevent any doubt in the mind of the reader, on occasion of certain vague and inaccurate ideas, which occur in some of the books of modern Travels, respecting the pass of Cilicia; it will be proper, in this place, to contrast the ancient descriptions of the real pass, with the modern descriptions, of the assumed one.

The modern road between Constantinople and Syria, as well for the Turkish armies, as for ordinary travellers, crosses M. *Taurus* (called in that place, Ramadan Oglu) by the route, by which Cyrus sent Menon, with the Cilician queen; (see above, page 37); and which mountain is there of such a breadth, as to require 25 hours for ordinary travellers to cross it. Several difficult places, also, occur by the way: but the *pass* itself is situated at the *final descent* into Cilicia; and

munication between *Killis* and *Ayasse*, by a narrow and difficult passage, through Amanus: and Dr. Pocock says, "on the *south* side of *Bayas*, there is a mountain "torrent, which comes from the opening, *by which there is an ascent to the gates of* "*Amanus*." Here it is proper to remark, that Dr. Pocock took *Bayas* for *Issus*; and its river for the *Pinarus*. And indeed both of these accounts apply *generally* to the position, in which the pass, through which Darius came, and also retired, would naturally be looked for.

* Nor does Arrian mention this pass: but then his history does not profess to give any details, between *Issus* and *Tyre*.

within 24 or 25 Roman miles of *Tarsus*. It is named *Geulek;* from the name of a ruined castle, or tower, situated above the pass.

Now the *Cilician Pass* of Cyrus and of Alexander, was situated in the direct road from *Cæsarea Mazaca*, which lay due north from Tarsus: whilst, on the contrary, Geulek lies in the way from *Iconium* and *Erekli*, which are to the WNW. of Tarsus. But the grand points of discrimination are, the different *aspects* of the *ascents;* and the great diversity in the distances of the two passes, from Tarsus: for those who come from the side of *Cappadocia* (that is, from *Cæsarea* and *Tyana*) ASCEND the NORTHERN face of *Taurus*, by the CILICIAN *pass*, near *Tyana*, about 75 Roman miles to the northward of *Tarsus;* whilst, on the contrary, those who come from the side of *Iconium*, and Erekli, DESCEND the SOUTHERN face of *Taurus*, by the pass of GEULEK; at about 25 such miles only, from *Tarsus*. One more point of contrast, is, that after ascending by the Cilician pass, the ridge of *Taurus* is narrow, affording a short passage into the vallies of Cilicia: but previous to the descent at Geulek, the road leads through a mountainous belt; which requires 25 hours to cross. A wider difference in the description of the two passes can hardly be imagined.

The pass of *Cilicia*, to which we have now brought Cyrus, is situated at the distance of a few miles to the southward of the city of *Tyana;* from which the pass itself is often denominated. It is thus described by Xenophon: (Lib. I. c. 8.)

"The entrance was just broad enough for a chariot to pass; very steep, and inaccessible to an army, if there had been any opposition." Curtius (lib. III. 4.) calls it a *narrow*

strait: and says that it is naturally so strong, as if fortified by the hand of man. He says also, that Alexander was sensible of his good fortune, in finding the pass abandoned by the enemy, before his approach: since his army might have been demolished by *stones rolled down* from the mountain. And that the road was so narrow, that four men could hardly pass, abreast; and the mountain hanging over it. Nor was it difficult only, on the score of its straitness, but also from being furrowed and broken, by the torrents that occasionally ran from the mountain.* Arrian does not *describe* the pass: nor does Strabo. Cicero, also, is silent; although it must be clearly understood, that he entered Cilicia by this pass, from the quarter of *Cybistra*.†

Cyrus, on his arrival at the city of *Tyana*,‡ found the pass

* It may be truly remarked, that the description of the pass of *Geulek*, itself, is exceedingly like that of *Cilicia*; being a deep and narrow ravine, which has a rapid descent from the brow of the mountain. (See Mr. Baldwin's Journal, in Col. Capper's Book). But it must be considered, that both of them, (as well as many others, elsewhere), owe their origin to torrents which descend from the mountain; and have, in the course of ages, worn deep ravines, with sides too steep to be scaled. The characteristic difference between the two passes, arises from their different *aspects*; one facing the *north*, the other, the *south*.

† In the History of the Expedition of Cyrus, in Diodorus Siculus (Lib. XIV. c. 5.) there are the descriptions of *two* passes: the first *intended* for the Cilician pass; the other for the Maritime pass. The first description confounds the Cilician pass, "*the narrow defile formed by high inaccessible mountains*," with the "*walls and gates*" of the Maritime pass. And the second confounds the Maritime pass, that is, one "*having walls and gates, and being near the Sea*," with the inland and lower pass of *Amanus* "*formed by the meeting of two mountains*," the one of which is said to be "a continuation of *M. Libanus*: i. e., *Pieria*.

‡ Called by Xenophon, (or more probably corrupted, by copyists,) *Dana*. It was originally named *Thoana*, from a king of the *Tauri*, as we learn from Arrian in his Periplus of the Euxine Sea. The Θ had probably been converted into a Δ.

in the power of the king of Cilicia, who had possessed himself of the eminences above it. He therefore encamped in the plain before it, since denominated from him, *the Plain of Cyrus*.* But on the arrival of intelligence that Menon had already penetrated within the mountains; and that the fleet of Cyrus was on the way from Iönia, with a body of Greek auxiliaries on board, the pass was abandoned, and "he marched UP the mountain, without opposition."† As 8 days had elapsed since the time of Menon's separation, to Cyrus's taking possession of the pass (he having halted 3 days at Tyana, and one in the plain, at the foot of the pass), the king might easily have learnt the news of Menon's arrival at Tarsus. For 5 days brought him within the mountains; and less than 2 more, would convey the intelligence of it to the king.

Passing Mount *Taurus*, Cyrus descended into the beautiful province of *Cilicia Campestris*. It is implied that the breadth of the mountain was not great; for it appears that he soon descended, after gaining the summit of the pass.

Xenophon says, that after Cyrus *left the mountains*, he advanced through the plain, and having made 25 parasangas in four days march, arrived at *Tarsus*. But the Jerusalem Itinerary allows no more than 75 Roman miles between *Tyana* and *Tarsus*. Probably therefore, the 25 parasangas describe the

* Arrian (Lib. II.) rightly, it may be conceived, supposes, that this plain was first denominated from the younger Cyrus: but Curtius (Lib. III). says it was from Cyrus the great, when he marched against Croesus. A plain denominated from the latter was situated on the east of Sardis and *M. Tmolus*. There is a possibility however, of Curtius's being right: but he errs exceedingly respecting *Lyrnessus* and *Thebe*, in the same chapter.

† The words of Xenophon, Lib. I. c. 8.

distance from Tyana; and the 4 marches, that from the brow of the mountain, towards Cilicia.

His description of this country appears to be no less beautiful, than just. From the mountains (*Taurus*), "Cyrus descended into a large and beautiful plain, well watered, and "full of all sorts of trees and vines: it abounds in grain of "various kinds; and is surrounded with a strong and high "ridge of hills, from sea to sea." (Lib. I. c. 8.)

Tarsus he describes as a great and rich city, in which stood the palace of the king (Syennesis): the *Cydnus* flowing through the middle of the city. Menon had arrived 5 days before Cyrus: which is accounted for, above, in the disposition of the time. (See again No. II.)

It has been remarked (in page 37,) that the marches between *Iconium* and *Tyana* were very long: but that, if the numbers be truly reported, a reason might possibly be assigned for the expedition: which is, that as the pass was to be cleared, by the joint exertions of Cyrus, of Menon, and of the detachment on board the Fleet, (although operating in different places,) it was of importance that Cyrus should be at *his* station, as early as possible.

At Tarsus, Cyrus staid no less than 20 days. This great delay seems to have been occasioned, chiefly, by the unwillingness of his Grecian auxiliaries, to proceed, on so dangerous a service, as the attempt to dethrone the reigning king of Persia: for the secret of the expedition could no longer be concealed. But they were at length prevailed on, by an increase of pay:* and an assurance that Cyrus only meant to march

* Their pay had been originally a *Daric* per month; and it was now increased to a Daric and a half. A Daric is reckoned to have been about 13 shillings; or strictly

against Abrocomas, one of the Persian generals, whom he represented to be at the head of an army, at the Euphrates, 12 marches from Tarsus.*

From Tarsus, Cyrus pursued his march eastward, through *Cilicia;* passing successively the rivers *Sarus* and *Pyramus* (the Seihan and Jeihan, of the present times). Two marches, of 5 parasangas each, brought him to the *Sarus*;† and a 3d of the same length, to the *Pyramus*. Over this ground and onwards to *Myriandrus*, his route has been compared, in detail, with the Roman Itineraries; and with the reports of modern travellers: and the agreement is found, on the whole, to be very close; the parasanga being equal to 3 Roman miles, reckoning 75 of these to a degree. (See the opposite Table.)

From the *Pyramus* he came in two marches to *Issus* (c. 17) said to be "the last town of *Cilicia*, situated near the sea; "a large city, rich, and well-inhabited." This place is with the greatest reason supposed to have stood on the site of the present village of *Oseler*, found in M. Niebuhr's map of the Gulph of Scanderoone, and its environs; in the second volume of his Travels in Persia, &c.

But the *two* marches are given at *fifteen* parasangas; which, if correct, would give about 21 B. miles for each march. The ground between the present town of Messis on the

12,92. The allowances of a British sepoy, in the field, are about equal to this increased pay.

* This number appears to be altogether vague; as no part of the Euphrates, in the line of Cyrus's march, was less than 16 or 17 marches from Tarsus. But he purposely under-rated the distance, of course.

† The name is *Pharus* in the Anabasis; no doubt an error.

Issus.

Jeihan, (*olim Mopsuhestia*) and Oseler, gives no more than about

The distance as given by Xenophon, by the Jerusalem Itinerary, and the modern authorities, between Tarsus and the Syrian strait; compared.

Jerusalem Itinerary.	Roman miles, of 75 to 1°	Modern Authorities.	British miles 69½ to 1°	Equal to Roman miles.	Xenophon.	Paras. 25 to 1°	Equal to Roman miles.
Tarsus to Adana -	27	Tarsus to Adana on the Seihan R. -	26	28	Tarsus to the Sarus	10	30
Adana to Mopsuhestia	18	Adana to Messis on the Jeihan R.	18¼	19¾	Sarus to the Pyramus	5	15
Mopsuhestia to Catabolo	31	Messis to Demirkapi	26	28	— — —	—	—
— — —	—	D. K. to Oseler, taken for Issus -	13	14	Pyramus to Issus	15	45
Catabolo to Baiæ —	17	Oseler to Bayas -	6¾	7¼	— — —	—	—
— — —	—	Bayas to the Mahersy River, at the supposed Syrian strait	7¼	7¾	Issus to the Syrian strait	5	15
				104¾		—	105
Baiæ to Alexandria	16	Mahersy to Alexandria.	7½	8	From Syrian strait to Alexandria; assumed	—	8
Roman miles -	109	— — —	—	112¾	— — —	—	113

N.B. The modern distances are from a mean of 5 different reports: and the Jerusalem Itinerary agrees with the Antonine and Theod. Tables, as far as the latter go.

H

38 B. miles, or 19 for each march: but the difference may probably be accounted for, in that Xenophon reckons from *the river*, which might have been crossed at a point farther distant from *Issus*, than Messis is from Oseler: so that the difference between the 38 (or $38\frac{1}{4}$) and 42 British miles, which answer nearly to the 15 parasangas, may be chiefly occasioned by the above circumstance: for it is certain that the *whole* distance from Tarsus to Oseler, agrees very nearly.*

The disproportionate length of these two marches, to the preceding and succeeding ones, of 14 miles each, may probably be accounted for, in that Cyrus wished to arrive at *Issus* before the expected reinforcement of Greeks, by sea, under Cheirisophus: and perhaps also to be nearer at hand for the attack of the Syrian pass (or strait); where he expected to meet with resistance. It appears that he intended to make use of the ships, if necessary, in the attack of the fortress at the pass, situated on the shore of the Gulph of Issus; although in the sequel the enemy retired, and left it open to him.

At Issus, accordingly, Cyrus received a reinforcement of 700 heavy-armed Greeks, under Cheirisophus; sent from *Ephesus* and *Peloponnesus*; as also his expected supplies. And here also 400 other heavy-armed Greeks came to him, having left the service of Abrocomas. His fleet now consisted of 60 ships.†

The pass called *the Gates of Cilicia and Syria*, and known

* It is conceived that no interval of distance, on this whole route, is better known than that between *Tarsus* and *Alexandria*; as well from modern accounts as from the ancient Itineraries; a specimen of which has been just given.

† In all the space between *Tarsus* and *Myriandrus*, Xenophon mentions no town save *Issus*: and in other places, as well as this, he prefers the mention of the rivers to the

also by the names of the *Syrian Strait* and *Maritime Pass*, from its being formed by the near approach of M. *Amanus* to the sea, (see above page 39) was situated at the distance of one ordinary march, or 5 parasangas, southward from *Issus*; and at a like distance from *Myriandrus*, northwards, and was itself at that day reckoned the common boundary of Cilicia and Syria.

Xenophon thus describes it: (lib. I. 18) "The Gates of "*Cilicia* and *Syria* were two fortresses; of which the inner, "next Cilicia, was possessed by Syennesis, with a guard of "*Cilicians*; and the outer, next to *Syria*, was said to be de- "fended by the king's troops: between these two fortresses "runs a river called *Kersus*, 100 feet in breadth. The interval "between them was three stadia, in the whole; through which "it was not possible to force a way; for the pass was nar- "row, the fortresses reaching down to the sea, and above "were inaccessible rocks. In both these fortresses stood the "Gates."

The space between the *two fortified lines*, facing the opposite quarters, (for such they must be considered) being no more than three stadia, or little more than 500 yards, in length, along the coast, and yet large enough to contain a considerable force, proves that there must have been a considerable space between the rocky face of the mountains and the sea: and that nothing like a *defile*, or very narrow space, was intended. For when Xenophon says, that the pass was *narrow*, he could only mean in reference to a front formed for an attack; since

towns that stood near them. Of the two, the rivers (where the line of march is known) as being permanent objects, appear to be the best choice, of a *single* object; but the mention of *both* would have been more for the benefit of Geography.

there was width enough for a fortress; and that fortress large enough to contain a considerable force.

The strait described by Xenophon, was therefore formed apparently, by a narrow border of low land, at the foot of high steep cliffs; and having a small river running through it to the sea. In a corresponding position, in respect of Oseler, (which was no doubt the site of *Issus*) a like river, named at present *Mahersy*, and issuing from a *cleft* in the high land; * flows through a tract of very low swampy land, $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile in breadth, between the hills and the sea; and which has every appearance of having been formed from alluvions, produced by the joint operation of the river and the sea. And it may reasonably be concluded that the site of the fortresses in the time of Xenophon, owed its formation to the same cause: and which has been progressively adding other new land, in the sea, until the ground of the strait has been extended into an ample plain.† It may be added that a castle, named *Merkes*, stands on a commanding eminence over the river: and has either communicated its name to the river, or derived its own from it. One may easily perceive the connection between it and the *Kersus* of Xenophon: and the *h* of Mahersy is probably guttural.

Thus the position of this pass seems to be clearly made out;

* Dr. Pocock's Travels, Vol. II. Part 1st. p. 176.

† The like circumstances have taken place at *Thermopylæ*, in Greece; where the land and sea alluvions collectively, but chiefly the latter, have filled up a portion of the *Malian* Gulf, and formed a wide stripe of low land, contiguous to what *was* the *narrow strait*. One is sorry for a change which has destroyed an important feature of a scene so interesting in its history, and so classical in its nature: however, there are land-marks enough remaining, to identify the scene, with the description of it in Herodotus.

although it has been overlooked hitherto, because it would appear that people expected something in the nature of a *defile* or *very narrow passage*; but certainly nothing of that kind is intended by the ancient descriptions of the *Syrian Strait*, either by Xenophon or Arrian. The former, it has appeared, describes it in a *low* situation; and the latter in an *elevated* one, refering to different positions, though very near each other.

It may be proper in this place to add a word respecting Arrian's description of the Strait, which Alexander passed through, about 70 years after Cyrus. His description is that of *a narrow passage over hills*; evidently *not a defile*, but that kind of ground which would compel an assailant to form a very straitened front for an attack. But the different sites alluded to by the two Historians, can hardly be a mile from each other; the ground being particularly described by Dr. Pocock, Mr. Drummond, and others. For within that distance, southward from the river *Mahersy*, the swampy plain is shut up by a narrow tract of hills, which has on the one hand an abrupt descent to the sea; and on the other, the steep mountain of *Amanus*, which leaves only a narrow space, in the nature of a *shelf*, between its foot and the sea. And this must be conceived to be the pass intended by Arrian; for he describes the advanced-guard of the army of Alexander, to have taken possession of the *pass*, on the evening before the battle of *Issus*: and who at day-break, "*began to descend from the hills;* being confined to a very narrow front, by reason of the straitness of the ground." (Lib. II.)

This Maritime pass (or rather *these passes*) could only have been situated between Bayas (*Baiæ*) and Scanderoone (site of *Alexandria*); because in that quarter the mountains approach

very near to the shore of the Gulph of *Issus :* and that on the opposite (or north) side of Bayas, the mountain gradually recedes from the shore.* In point of distance also, the accordance is very close. The river Mahersy, taken for the *Kersus* of Xenophon, is about $7\frac{1}{4}$ British miles to the southward of Bayas ; and this latter is $6\frac{3}{4}$ south of Oseler, taken for *Issus*. So that here is an aggregate of 14 British miles, or as nearly as possible to 15 Roman ; which (as is shown elsewhere) are equal to five parasangas of Xenophon's scale ; and this is the distance assigned to the pass from Issus. The hill pass of Arrian may be about a mile farther to the south.

Arrian takes no notice of any fortress, wall, or other artificial impediment to Alexander's progress at the hill pass. But it would appear that at some time there has been a wall or fortress there : for the bases of two piers of a gateway are now seen there.† These are vulgarly named Jonas's pillars.

The mode in which Cyrus intended to attack the fortified pass in the plain, throws some light on the nature of the place. We have seen that it was formed of two parallel walls, at 500 yards or more assunder ; and reaching down from the cliffs, or front of the mountains, to the sea ; across a narrow slip of land, which although not designated as a plain, appears by circumstances to have been such ; and also open to the sea. For it is said by Xenophon, that " Cyrus, in order to gain the " pass, sent for his ships, that, by landing his men both within

* Both the Ancients and Moderns, seem to have regarded all the narrow space between the mountains of *Amanus* and the sea, as *a kind of strait :* and indeed not improperly, where large armies were to act.

† They have been described by Messrs. Pocock and Drummond, Dr. Patrick Russell, and others.

" and without the gates, they might force their way through " the *Syrian* gate,* if defended by the enemy." (Lib. I. c. 18.) The pass however, was abandoned; but the plan of attack seems to show, that the shore must have been *flat*, or at least, *not steep*; in order to make such a plan feasible. For hills whose bases are beaten on by a wave, will be rendered steep by those bases being torn away by the surge, in rough weather. Cyrus would not have directed his troops to climb up a steep ascent; and that ascent a long one, (as may be gathered from the description in Arrian,) in the face of an enemy in great force.

It may be added, that all the streams in this Gulf pass through plains (probably of their own creation,) before they gain the sea.

Myriandrus was the next place of encampment of Cyrus, 5 parasangas beyond the pass, and situated at the south-east corner of the *Sinus Issicus*. According to Xenophon, (Lib. I. c. 19.) it was " a *Phœnician* city; a mart-town; and many " merchant ships lay at anchor before it."†

* That is, of course, the gate *towards* Syria, or the southernmost.

† Herodotus also speaks of *Myriandrus* as being situated on a bay of the same name, which seems to imply that it was the place of the most consequence on the Gulf of *Issus*, at that day; as Issus at a later period; and as *Ayasse* and *Scanderoone* have been successively, in modern times: each of which has, in turn, given its name to the gulf.

The common boundary of *Cilicia* and *Syria* is placed by Xenophon at the maritime pass, five parasangas to the southward of *Issus*; which leaves to Syria, (or rather to *Phœnicia*, as then divided) the southern coast and eastern angle of the Gulf of *Issus*; and to Cilicia the narrow tract, on which the memorable acts of Alexander and Darius took place about 70 years afterwards. To make the matter still clearer, Xenophon says that they marched five parasangas *through Syria*, to *Myriandrus*.

But Strabo, p. 676, and 751, assigns the mountains of *Amanus* and its *pass*, for the common boundary; which they might have been in his time.

At that time, the port of *Myriandrus*, appears to have been much better sheltered than that of Issus; being, by its retired situation, much less exposed to the sea-winds; but now the bay and port are filled up by depositions.

Myriandrus, it has been said, stood at two marches to the southward of *Issus*: and both Xenophon and Arrian agree in this report. Moreover, the former states the *distance*, likewise; which was 10 parasangas, equal to 30 Roman miles. Of these, the first 15 terminating at the river *Kersus* or Mahersy, leaves of course 15 more for *Myriandrus*. But the present S. E. angle of the Gulf of Scanderoone, is not quite 7 such miles from the Mahersy! It cannot be supposed, from the plan of the ground, taken by Mr. Drummond,* that the Gulf could ever have extended southward 8 Roman miles beyond the present S. E. angle; but 6 or more it certainly might. At the same time being ignorant of the exact form of the gulf at that time, it cannot be known how much ground might have been lost in coasting that part of its shore. Yet it may fairly be concluded, that the distance is over-rated in some degree.

Thus, in either case, the site of *Myriandrus* must be looked for at a great distance inland. The coast in that part forms a kind of deep bay, the recess of which is filled up with the sand and mud washed down by the land-floods and rivers, from the adjacent mountains of *Amanus* and *Pieria*; and probably aided by the alluvions, which the current from the south has deposited in the recess: so that the site of *Myriandrus* is 4 or 5 miles inland.

* See the map in Mr. Drummond's Travels in Syria, at page 205.

Mr. Drummond says (Travels, p. 124), that this tract "cannot be approached by man or horse, until the summer "has dried up the bogs." Mr. Volney, (vol. 2, p. 27,) says, that "the plain on which Alexandretta is built, which is a "league in breadth, has been formed by the earth brought "down by the torrents:" and that it is so low and flat, that the rivulets, finding no declivity, can never reach the sea; and therefore form morasses. And this process continually going on, the new land is extended: and that already formed is in some degree raised, as both processes necessarily go on together.

Some ancient ruins were observed by Mr. Beawes (in 1745) near *Jacob's Well*, a spring situated at nearly $4\frac{1}{4}$ Roman miles to the south of Alexandretta, in Mr. Drummond's map; and at the termination of the morass inland. This appears to be a very probable situation for *Myriandrus*; as well in point of general distance from the maritime pass, as from the nature of the place. And accordingly it may have stood 6 Roman miles (by the road) from the present S. E. angle of the Gulf, which being itself nearly 7 from the Mahersy river, 13 of the 15 reported by Xenophon, are made out. Not that we should venture to decide absolutely, that any deficiency existed; since two such respectable authorities report the distance to be equal to the length of a march. *Myriandrus* may have stood more to the west than is here supposed, and the shore of the Gulf may have lengthened the road. It is hoped, however, that this general arrangement will satisfy the reader, that the bay has been filled up; and that the site of the place, which was a maritime port, is now far within the present shore.

At this place Cyrus staid 7 days. As he was now to take

his final leave of the sea coast, he would of course unload the stores and provisions, from on board his fleet. And from what Xenophon says at the end of the first book; that, the European auxiliaries of Cyrus, received many indulgences and comforts that were of course denied to the bulk of the army; and which employed so great a number of carriages to transport the means of furnishing; it may be supposed that those necessaries formed a considerable part of the lading of the fleet.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM MYRIANDRUS TO THE PYLÆ, AT THE ENTRANCE INTO BABYLONIA.

Detail of the March of Cyrus *through* Syria, *to* Thapsacus—*Apparent transposition of particulars, in the* Anabasis—Thapsacus, *a ford, and an important pass over the* Euphrates: *the* Tiphsah *of Scripture—River* Chalus *or* Chalcis—*Source of the* Daradax *recognised in the remarkable fountain of* Fav—*Park and Palace of* Belesis—*the* Araxes *of Xenophon, the* Chaboras, *or Khabour—Site of* Circesium, *or* Carchamis—*Desert of* Mesopotamia—*Distressing March of* 18 *days through it, to the* Pylæ, *and Plains of* Babylonia—*Difficulty of arranging the suite of positions between the* Pylæ *and* Sitace—*Mode adopted—Digression explanatory of the nature and positions of the* Canals *of Communication between the* Euphrates *and* Tigris—*Sources of those rivers in Armenia—Changes in the lower parts of their Courses—*Euphrates *runs on a higher level, and discharges into the* Tigris, *by the* Canals *of* Communication—*Periodical Swellings, and comparative Bulk of the two Rivers—the positions of the Canals assist in tracing the route of* Cyrus *and* Xenophon *in* Babylonia.

FROM *Myriandrus*,* Cyrus is *said* to have made 12 marches to *Thapsacus*, on the Euphrates; that is 4 to the river *Chalus*;

* In the account of the progress of Cyrus's army, nothing is said respecting the nature

5 from thence to the source of the river *Daradax*; and finally, 3 to *Thapsacus*. Here he crossed the Euphrates, at a ford, into *Mesopotamia*; and at 9 marches farther, according to the history, came to the river *Araxes*, which falls into the Euphrates; in all 21 marches from *Myriandrus*, to the conflux of the *Araxes* with the *Euphrates*. The distance in parasangas, is given at 115; equal to about $15\frac{1}{4}$ B. miles for each march, taken at a mean. (Lib. I. c. 21, 23.)

On the construction, the most direct line that can be drawn from *Myriandrus*, through the supposed fountain of *Daradax*, and thence to the Euphrates, and along it, in the course that an army may be supposed to march, is 220 G. miles; falling short of 21 *mean* marches by 2 or 3 miles only. So that in a general point of view, the history may be said to agree remarkably well with the construction; reckoning by *marches*; but by the *distance given*, the excess is nearly 10 parasangas more than the ground allows.

Thus much for the agreement of the general distance, by the marches, but there appears to be a great error in the arrangement of the particulars.

For if 12 mean marches, equal to $127\frac{1}{4}$ G. miles direct, be laid off from Myriandrus, through Fay Fountain, (the supposed *Daradax*) to the side of the Euphrates, according to the history, they will fall between 6 and 7 marches short of the supposed position of Thapsacus; which is doubtless that of the present El Dar.

Xenophon describes Thapsacus as "a large and flourishing "city:" as indeed it continued to be in Roman times; but as

no city is known to have stood in the situation pointed out in the *Anabasis*, one must suppose with M. D'Anville, (Euphrates and Tigris, p. 23,) that Xenophon has *transposed* the two lines of distance; and that it ought to stand thus:

From the Daradax to Thapsacus	9 Days.
Thapsacus to the Araxes	3

And if 18 marches, equal to $190\frac{3}{4}$ G. miles in direct distance, be laid off from *Myriandrus*, (that is 9 to the *Daradax*, and 9 more to *Thapsacus*,) they will fall at a point only 4 or 5 miles short of El Dar; which place, by this calculation, would therefore be about $18\frac{1}{2}$ marches from *Myriandrus*. It is true that El Dar is no more than about two marches and a half from the Khabour river *(Araxes)*; but it is to be recollected, that Xenophon neglects the *fractions* of marches and parasangas; and that the whole distance, reckoned by mean marches, accords within 2 or 3 miles on a line of 220; so that the general agreement is satisfactory.*

This position of *Thapsacus*, agrees with what Diodorus

* On the Geographical construction, the distances are as follow:

From *Myriandrus* to the nearest part of the Koik river *(Chalus)*	47	G. miles.
To the Fountain of Fay, (Daradax) - -	45	
To Dar *(Thapsacus)* - - -	103	
	195	
From Dar to the conflux of the Khabour and Euphrates	25	
Total	220	
Twenty-one marches would require - - -	$222\frac{1}{2}$	

By the Geographical construction, as well here as elsewhere, is meant the new system of Geography of Asia minor and western Asia in general, formed by the author; and on which the whole geography of the tract, which includes the scene of the Expedition and Retreat, is founded.

relates (Lib. xiv. c. 5); which is, that Cyrus made 20 marches between the *Gates of Syria* and *Thapsacus*. Dar, as we have seen, is about $18\frac{1}{2}$ marches from *Myriandrus*; to which if *one* be added, for the distance of the latter from the Syrian strait, there will be a total of $19\frac{1}{2}$, which comes so near to the idea of Diodorus, that we must believe that Xenophon has transposed the two distances; as he has done the places of the rivers *Thermodon* and *Halys*, in the 6th book.

Had the circumstances of the case rested on the bare fact of crossing the Euphrates at three marches below the *Daradax*, one might certainly have believed that Xenophon crossed the Euphrates at that *point*, and *not* at Thapsacus (meaning Dar): for at the end of the three marches, and near a town or village named *Alalis*, is the ordinary passage from Syria into Mesopotamia, opposite to the castle of Jiabar: and there the Euphrates is very *shallow*, according to Signior Balbi, who, from that circumstance, found great difficulty in navigating it. And hence it may certainly be inferred that there are fords in this quarter, in the season when the river is very low. This navigation of Balbi's was performed at the end of January or beginning of February: and it appears improbable that the river would fall much lower before the time of its beginning to swell periodically, in the month of April.

Leaving however the subject of *Thapsacus* (so far as Xenophon is concerned) to the determination of the reader, it may be remarked, that wheresoever he crossed the Euphrates, it does not affect the intermediate positions of the river *Chalus*, and the fountain of the *Daradax*.*

* It may, however, from the description of the course of his route, be concluded for

Thapsacus was a noted pass over the Euphrates, between *Palestine*, *Phœnicia*, and *Damascus*, on the one hand; and *Nineveh*, *Assyria* in general, *Media*, and *Eastern Armenia*, on the other; and perhaps might owe its importance to the circumstance of its being the lowest point at which the Euphrates was certain, that Alexander crossed the Euphrates in this neighbourhood, in his way from *Tyre* to *Arbela*.

Both Pliny and Isodore of Charax, say, that Alexander founded the city of *Nicephorium*, which is universally supposed to have stood on the site of the present Racca; and which intermediately took the name of *Callinicum*.

Pliny says, (Lib vi. c. 26.) that "the city of *Nicephorium* is situated near the Euphrates; and was founded by Alexander the Great, because of the advantages (or commodiousness) of the situation." Here then is a reason given for its foundation: and it does not appear that Alexander ever founded a city in a place which he had not himself explored. And one can only account for his being *here*, when on his way from *Tyre* to *Arbela*. And that Pliny intended no other place than the one in question, is shown by his having previously (in Lib. v. c. 24.) connected *Nicephorium* with *Anthemusa*; which he describes as two cities of *Mesopotamia*. *Anthemusa* is recognised in a route given by Isidore, of *Charax*, between *Zeugma* and *Callinicum*; which latter, as we have shown, is the same with *Nicephorium*.

Arrian (Lib. iii.) says that Alexander "marched into *Mesopotamia*, having the *Euphrates* and the mountains of *Armenia* (i. e. *Mount Masius*, the southernmost ridge of *Taurus*), on his left hand:" and it is known from the same history, that he forded the *Tigris*, at least 50 miles above Mosul. One can only understand, therefore, that he must have crossed the Euphrates at a point much higher up than *Thapsacus*: that he marched thence to the N. and N. E.: and finally, by Ras-al-Ain, and *Nisibis*; coasting the southern foot of *Masius*, to the before-mentioned ford of the Tigris; which may be taken for that passage described by Hajy Kalifa, at 23 hours travelling above Mosul; and at no great distance below the Zaco Hills; of which much more will be said in the sequel.

Hence the reader may perhaps believe, that there is some reason to suppose that Alexander crossed the Euphrates at a point far above *Dar* or *Thapsacus*.

It was indeed the opinion of more than one ancient author, that Alexander crossed at *Zeugma*; by which however, some may have intended the bridge opposite to *Hierapolis*: Pliny seems to have believed, that it was *Zeugma* of *Comagena*. But the quarter of Racca appears to the author a more likely place.

fordable. For the addition of so considerable a stream as the Khabour, must greatly increase its bulk and depth: and we hear of no ford below the *embouchure* of that river. Therefore Thapsacus was the most convenient pass for those who came from the south, and were compelled at any rate to cross the Syrian desert; but those who came from the westward, and whose route skirted the bank of the Euphrates, would doubtless avoid the desert, if they found a convenient passage into *Mesopotamia*, higher up.

Forster (in his Geographical Dissertation, at the end of Spelman's translation of the Anabasis, page 308,) says, that "*Thapsacus* is derived from *Thapsakh*; signifying in the He- "brew, a *pass*, or *passing over;* or perhaps in that place, more "properly, a *ford.*" He also observes, that, "in I. Kings, "ch. iv. v. 24, *Thapsakh* is rendered *Tiphsah*, and *Gaza*, *Azzah.*" Pliny (Lib. v. c. 24.) says, that it afterwards took the name of *Amphipolis*. Its modern name, *Dar*, expresses in Turkish, much the same as is said of the Hebrew; that is, *a passage*.

Xenophon makes no mention of any bridge, or any remains of one, at *Thapsacus*.* The inhabitants reported to Cyrus, that the river had never been fordable before, at that place; or passable, but in boats; and these had been destroyed by Abrocomas, in his retreat. But it may be collected from the ancients, generally, that there was always a ford at Thapsacus,

* Arrian says that Alexander found the *remains* of a bridge at *Thapsacus*: but as we have seen, it may be a question whether Alexander did really cross at *Thapsacus?* As there does not appear to be any authority for the existence of a bridge at that place at any time, the fact of Alexander's finding a broken bridge at the place where he crossed, ought to be presumptive evidence against his having crossed the *Euphrates* at *Thapsacus*. Xenophon leaves us to understand that it was usual to cross it in boats: and these Abrocomas had burnt, in order to impede the progress of Cyrus. (Lib. i. c. 22.)

at the season when the river was low. Xenophon estimates its breadth at 4 stadia, or nearly 700 yards: and by Balbi's account, it is spread out, over a very wide but shallow bed at Dar.

It will now be proper to say a word concerning the two streams, spoken of by Xenophon, between *Myriandrus* and *Thapsacus*.

The first of these was the *Chalus*, at 4 marches, or 20 parasangas from *Myriandrus*. This can be no other than the *Koik*, or river of Aleppo, which terminates in a small lake near the site of ancient *Chalcis;* since named Kinneserin. The nearest part of its course to Myriandrus, is 47 G. miles, in direct distance, which exceeds by 4 or 5 miles only, the given distance, whether taken in marches or in parasangas. But it is not of course to be supposed otherwise, than that the marches varied in length according to the nature of the roads, or to the facility of obtaining water and forage: it is the *mean* that is to be attended to.

It may be observed, that Xenophon speaks of no rivers between the sea coast, and the river *Chalus;* although he must of necessity have crossed one, if not three: as by the distance marched, he must have gone by the *upper* or shortest route, from Bylan towards the site of Aleppo. The lake of Antioch, with its contiguous marshes and bogs, did not then, in all probability, exist; but must have been formed since the date of ancient history. For one can hardly reconcile it to probability, that Strabo, (page 751,) should have described the plain of Antioch, or rather the plain situated below *Pagris*, (Begras) with the three rivers of *Labotas*, *Œnoporas*, and *Arceuthus*, besides the *Orontes*, as flowing through it, without

mentioning at the same time, had it existed, a lake of more than 10 miles in length, by 7 in breadth; which occupied the centre of the plain, and served as a receptacle to the three first of these rivers, whose waters it afterwards discharged by a single stream into the *Orontes:* for such is the state of things at this day. Ptolemy is equally silent.

It appears the most probable, therefore, that some obstruction formed in the bed of the *Orontes*, has caused this inundation, with its extensive marshes and bogs; which altogether occupy so large a proportion of the beautiful plain of Antioch. The upper road has only been rendered passable by its bridges and causeways, made by the Turkish government, in latter times: although one may conclude, that previous to the formation of the lake, the ground was solid and firm. Peter Texeira, in 1605, came this way, and describes the nature of the road. (Travels, Engl. Edit. p. 76.)*

Here we regret that we cannot agree entirely with Forster, in his Remarks, (p. 307 and 308 of his Geog. Diss.) where he says that "Xenophon's silence concerning the Ifrin river, "that lay between Myriandrus and the Chalus, together

* This plain is remarkable for containing within it, the fields of several battles, recorded in ancient history. Strabo, p. 751, mentions three; two of which were between the Romans and Parthians: the third between Ptolemy Philometer and Alexander Bala. To these may be added, that between Aurelian and Zenobia queen of Palmyra, which was fought on that side of the plain towards, and near the *Orontes*; and was called the battle of *Immæ*; perhaps from *Imk*, which is the present name of the district. Here also, in the opposite quarter, towards *Derbesak*, may be supposed to have been the grand camp of Darius, at *Sochus:* although one cannot readily conceive that the plain obtained the name of "*the field of Tribes*" from this circumstance (Hajy Kalifa's Syria). Its extent cannot be less than 30 miles in length by 20 in breadth: and the view of it from the pass of *Amanus*, is magnificent: according to Texeira.

" with other circumstances in the history, seems to show " that he wrote the *Anabasis* from recollection." That he did write most of it from recollection, there can be no doubt; for how could he have written it on the spot? It is only to be supposed that he committed to writing, in the form of notes, the places and distances, together with such short *memoranda*, as would serve to recal the memory of particular transactions, but he does not profess to be a geographer, and to note every river or other object that presented itself in his way; but carries us to certain points or resting places, for the imagination, so as to keep up the chain of positions and distances: and occasionally, during a dearth of incident, gratifies his reader with short descriptions of places and things. He has omitted the lesser Zab, (the *Caprus*) a river of considerable bulk; together with other rivers of Kourdistan; each of them more considerable than the Ifrin. But the *greater* Zab, or *Zabatus*, is spoken of, because it is connected with important points in the history. Nor does he notice the pass of Bylan (or *Pictanus*, the lower strait of *Amanus*), through which he must of necessity have passed in his way into Syria; th ugh he describes so particularly the maritime pass. The reason appears evident; the latter presented itself as an object of military speculation and enterprise; but the former as an indifferent object, as there was no enemy in the way; nor any difficulty to overcome.

The source of the *Daradax* is found to agree with the remarkable fountain and river of Fay; brought to notice by the party of gentlemen who visited Palmyra, from Aleppo, in 1691.* The *Daradax* is given at 9 marches, or 50

* Recorded in the Phil. Trans. of 1695.

parasangas from *Myriandrus;* 5 marches, 30 parasangas from the last station, at the *Chalus* river. The fountain of Fay is 92 G. miles *direct*, from *Myriandrus;* which is about 4 miles only, by the road, short of the 9 mean marches; but the *distance* given in the history, is out of all proportion too great; being a full day's march more than the ground allows.*

The source of this fountain and rivulet is said to be at the distance of an hour's journey, or 3 or 4 miles from the Euphrates, into which it discharges itself: and in respect of Baulus, a place on the same river, it is taken to be about 12 or 13 miles to the N. W.-ward. Baulus is recognised as the *Barbalissus* of the Theodosian Tables and of Ptolemy; being in the former, 16 M. P. or nearly 12 G. miles from *Eraciha;* which is also 25 M. P. or 18 G. miles to the southward of *Hierapolis* or Bambouch. In Ptolemy, we have *Eragiza*, in much the same relative position; and the present town of Rajik, which is probably the *Eragiza* and *Eraciha* of those ancient documents, agrees in respect of Baulus, and of *Hierapolis*; and appears to be within 3 or 4 miles of Fay Fountain. It has moreover a small river falling into the Euphrates, near it. Hence it may be concluded, that the river of Rajik is the *Daradax* of Xenophon.

He couples with this fountain the palace and park of *Belesis*, a former governor of Syria; who appears to have shown a good taste in the choice of a situation. M. D'Anville refers this park to Baulus, at the Euphrates: and it is very possible that the ancient name of the town, *Barbalissus*, may have

* Hence appears the use of recurring to the numbers of the marches, as a check to the distances given.

been derived from the Governor, as being the original founder or patron of the place. But Xenophon is silent respecting the Euphrates till he comes to Thapsacus; and the description of Fay Fountain is sufficiently pointed to be referred to the Daradax, independent of the distance: not to mention how seldom such an object occurs in this quarter.* It appears that the Arab chief had his encampment along the borders of this stream, in 1691; which stream may be conceived to have been included in the park of the chief of ancient times. Cyrus, in destroying such an establishment, appears in the light of a wanton barbarian, rather than the polished prince represented by Xenophon.†

At Thapsacus Cyrus was detained five days; for now Abrocomas having retired to join the king of Persia, Cyrus could no longer pretend to seek him as an enemy, without confessing his intended hostility to the king. Accordingly this was avowed: and the Greeks, on the promise of a considerable reward on their entering Babylon, consented to accompany him. Cyrus had thus identified their interests with his own: and in the case of *failure*, had not *committed* himself with them.‡

* Xenophon describes the stream to be a *plethrum*, or 100 feet in breadth. This appears large for a stream supplied by a single fountain. The travellers give no description of it; only that it furnished a stream, along which the Arab encampment extended to a very great length. One might conclude that it was a plentiful stream.

† "Cyrus cut down the trees and burnt the palace." (Anab. Lib. I. c. 21.)

One is sorry to be obliged to remark, that it was the practice of the *polished* Greeks themselves, to cut down the fruit trees when they invaded each other's provinces.

‡ That is, he had promised the reward only on condition of his obtaining the object of his wishes—the possession of his brother's capital city. Had the promise

No particulars are given concerning the *Araxes* river, the present *Khabour*, and the *Chaboras* of the Romans. Julian passed it just above its conflux with the Euphrates, over a bridge of boats: and we conceive it to be at all times too deep to be forded at this place. Julian may be supposed to have crossed it in April, Cyrus in August; in both of which seasons it must have been low, but lowest in April.

It was at the angle formed by the meeting of these rivers, that Dioclesian afterwards built *Circesium*, as a *frontier* post towards Parthia; and which was known by the name of Karkisia in later times. It is the *Carchamis* of the scripture. Here Cyrus halted three days to collect provisions, the country on the hither or northern side, being fertile, and affording plenty; but a sterile desert beyond it. And hence the Geographers of Xenophon's time, included the fertile part of *Mesopotamia* in the division of SYRIA; the desert part in that of ARABIA.

This desert extended the length of 18 marches of Cyrus; and to the plains of *Babylonia*. It is now named from Sinjar, and is celebrated on occasion of an arch of the meridian being measured there, by order of the Caliph Almamoun, in the 9th century; in order to ascertain the length of a degree, in Arabic miles.

Through the whole course of these 18 marches, the army of Cyrus kept the Euphrates on their right hand; and it would appear, near enough to arrange their encampments, so as always to command water from it: for although the cattle died for want of *fodder*, there is no complaint of any want of

related to the *country* of Babylon, merely, the Greeks would have had a claim on him previous to the battle of *Cunaxa*, which is not even hinted.

water. It is besides strongly implied that their track lay *near* the river. The first five marches were through the *level* part of the desert; "even as the sea, and full of wormwood;"* the latter 13 through a hilly tract, which, although only *implied*, in the history, is known to be such from modern travellers.† And indeed, the latter part, towards Hit, is exceedingly rough, and sometimes mountainous.

The distance given for the 18 marches, is obviously too great, and therefore must be abandoned: more especially as the ground appears to agree with the assigned number of *mean* marches. No less than 125 parasangas are given; which would require, for the mean march, no less than $19\frac{1}{4}$ British miles *per* day; with a halt of only 3 days: and as 90 paras. are given for the last 13 marches, without any intermediate halt, through the *hilly* desert, which is a rate equal to that in the *level* desert; and moreover as it exceeds by several miles each day the rate through Syria and the plains of Babylonia, it cannot be maintained.‡ It must be

* Ammianus speaks much in the same terms when he accompanied Julian.

† The passage alluded to, is where some persons "*ran down a steep hill.*" (Lib. I. c. 24.)

This hilly desert extends along *both sides* of the Euphrates, from the quarter of *Erzi*, to about 20 miles below Hit; a breadth of about 100 miles. It appears to be destitute of water, that of the Euphrates excepted.

‡ The ancients supposed the distance betweed *Thapsacus* and *Babylon* to be 4800 stadia; implied to mean by the ordinary route along the Euphrates. As the information comes from Eratosthenes (Strabo, p. 77), it may be supposed that his knowledge was derived from the reports of the followers of Alexander, and not collected from the *Anabasis*. However, the measure of the route along the Euphrates, between *Thapsacus* and *Babylon*, with allowance for inflexions (as above, page 10) gives no more than about 4230 stades, of 700 to a degree; the scale of Eratosthenes. The scale of Xenophon (750) would give about 4530. So that the 4800 is apparently

recollected, that we are tracing the steps of an army of 110,000 men, in a body; attended by a vast number of carriages and beasts of burthen. It is true that our knowledge of the particular windings of the Euphrates is too much confined, to enable us to *decide positively* on the length of the *road distance*, through this extensive line of march; but the general outline of its course, as well as the general distance, is supposed to be sufficiently known.

But if the distance marched, be calculated on the *number of marches*; allowing a reasonable length to each, according to the before-mentioned *Canon*; then the history and the actual geography, as known at present, will not disagree.*

It is true also that the *Pylæ* of Xenophon, considered as the term of this line of march, now under discussion, has not been recognised in modern times; and that the position of the Pylæ can only be referred to the commencement of the

an error, either of the original system, or of copyists. Now the *Anabasis* has nearly 4900, between *Thapsacus* (El Dar) and *Cunaxa*, alone; which is more than the *highest* calculation reckoned *home* to *Babylon*; although that place was still several hundred stadia farther on. And this circumstance seems to prove the great excess of distance given in the *Anabasis*; or rather, it may be supposed, corrupted. Here it may be remarked, that in the same work, on many occasions, when a considerable number of marches are thrown together, the aggregate number of parasangas is greatly in excess.

But if the marches through the desert be taken at the reasonable standard of the *mean* march, the distance will be about 3840 to *Cunaxa*; or with the addition of the 500 of Plutarch, to *Babylon*, 4340; which is nearly a mean between the two scales of Xenophon and of Eratosthenes.

* It may reasonably be supposed, that in order to avail themselves of the use of the river water, at each encampment, the *road distance* on the whole must be considerably increased: since the course of this river, as well as all others, must often have been devious from the *general line* of its course.

mountainous tract, from the plains of Babylonia, which first shuts up the passage along the bank of the Euphrates. Concerning this boundary, there is (as will be shewn in its place) very good *general* information; but this alone is not sufficient; and it will therefore be proper to extend the inquiry to some *known point:* for, extraordinary as it may appear, the *Zabatus*, or Greater Zab, is the first point in this march that can be *absolutely recognised*, in the geography, after passing the *Araxes;* although some intermediate points may be *clearly inferred* from circumstances.* Therefore it becomes necessary, in the first place, to trace the position of *Sitace*, on the Tigris, *back* from the *Zabatus*, by means of Xenophon's marches; and afterwards to compare and arrange the marches between the *Araxes*, the *Pylæ*, the field of *Cunaxa*, and *Sitace*, respectively: as also the position of the canals of communication (and more especially the uppermost one), between the Euphrates and Tigris; which from natural causes, was probably much the same in the flourishing state of the Persian empire, under the dynasty of the *Achæmenidæ*, as in that of the *Abassides;* concerning which latter, we receive information from the oriental geographers.

If, therefore, most or all of these intervals are found to agree generally; it may be allowed to reckon the several positions as determined; at least so far as, from the nature of the *data*, could be expected. And, in effect, it can be no otherwise accomplished than by a careful examination of the particulars

* As the *Pylæ* and the commencement of the plain of *Babylonia* constituted in effect *one point* in the Geography, a knowledge of the position of either may suffice; the place of commencement of the plain, being that of the termination of the mountains.

of the march from the *Araxes* to the *Zabatus:* attending to such circumstances and descriptions, as may afford the greatest aid towards a comparison of the ancient, with the modern Geography.

But having now conducted Cyrus to the entrance into the plains of *Babylonia,* through which the artificial canals of communication between the Euphrates and Tigris lead; and as the geographical positions of some of these canals, will be employed in checking certain points in the proposed inquiry into the route through Babylonia; it may be proper to digress from the main subject, in order to prepare the reader for a more particular reference to the canals; by putting him in possession of some curious facts, relating to their nature and arrangement; together with the general courses, levels, and periodical swellings of the two rivers, and the variations of their courses at different periods.

These observations (which are here given only in the abstract) arose in the course of an enquiry made for the purpose of correcting the geography of *Mesopotamia;* ancient as well as modern.

The two rivers Euphrates and Tigris, so famous both in ancient and modern history, are well known to derive their sources from the country of *Armenia:* the Euphrates from its northern parts; the Tigris from its southern: the *region* of *Taurus* separating generally the branches of the one, from those of the other. So that it may be truly said, that the Euphrates has its sources from the northern side of Taurus; the Tigris from the southern.*

* The place of the *eastern,* or remote source of the Euphrates, named *Murad* (the Euphrates of Xenophon) was not known until Mr. James Morier ascertained it, on his

Hence it happens that the length of course of the Euphrates is not far short of double that of the Tigris: although this latter contains by far the largest volume of water.*

They issue from the Tauric region, at the distance of 200 miles from each other: and immediately begin to inclose the celebrated country of MESOPOTAMIA; now called Jezirah.† But their courses gradually approaching each other, they leave an isthmus of less than 20 miles in breadth, in the neighbourhood of Baghdad. Soon after they again diverge, to form the lower peninsula of Mesopotamia, or ancient Babylonia; and finally join their streams at Korna, about 120 miles from the Persian Gulf: thence forming one large trunk stream, under the name of *Shat al Arab*, or the river of the Arabs.‡

Great have been the changes in the courses of both these rivers, at different periods: and even within the reach of history. But as these changes do not appear to have taken place within the tract which contains the canals of communication between the two rivers, it will only be necessary to state, that in the time of Nearchus they kept distinct courses to the sea; and that enough appears to satisfy belief, that the Tigris once

way home from Persia, in 1809. The sources of the *northern* Euphrates, or Frat, are known from the Travels of M. Tournefort, and from the Arabian and Turkish Geographers.

* The Tigris, besides the almost innumerable streams which form its principal head, in the valley of Diyarbekir, receives three very considerable rivers from Kourdistan; that is, the two Zabs and the Deällah. The greater Zab alone (the *Zabatus* of Xenophon), is reckoned equal to half the bulk of the Tigris.

† That is, the *island*; or, as applied here, the *peninsula*. The orientals employ the same term for both.

‡ The whole extent of this tract, from the foot of Taurus to the conflux, is about 680 British miles: and from *Taurus* to the *sea*, about 800.

held its course through the tract which afterwards formed the borders of *Susiana*.

It is in the approximating parts of the two rivers, in the quarter of Baghdad, that the artificial canals of communication are found: and indeed it appears probable that the rivers have, at some period beyond the reach of history, joined their main streams between the sites of *Babylon* and Baghdad; and that some of the canals in that quarter, are even made in the line of the hollow tract left by the Euphrates when it separated from the Tigris.*

On their entry into the plains of Babylonia, the Euphrates runs on a higher level than the Tigris: for the waters of the former, are known to have at all times discharged themselves into the latter, in that quarter. But lower down, the Euphrates loses that superiority of level (descending into the tract anciently called the *Paludes*, below Babylon), and receives, in its turn, some copious branches from the Tigris.†

* This requires some explanation. It is not meant that the hollow is confined merely to the dimensions of the river bed; but that the river by varying its course in that general direction, had left many hollows.

The same kind of approximation, and consequent divergence, may be observed of the Ganges and Megna rivers, in the quarter of Serampour.

† This is also shown by the greater distance to which the tide ascends in the Euphrates. In this latter river it is noticed at Ardsja; but in the Tigris, no higher than Uzzeer. The difference may be 80 miles by the course of the river.

Although some of the *lakes* of *Babylonia* are *known* to have been filled up in modern times, by the depositions made by the floods of the rivers; and converted into level plains, which still bear their former denomination of *Bahr*, or lake; yet very considerable hollows still remain; and which are either marshes or lakes according to the seasons. They are named by the Arabs *Bataih*, which has been translated *Marshes*.

As far as the progress of Alexander through this tract, can be traced in modern geography, the hollows which he traversed in his skiff appear to remain; although no doubt

The periodical swellings of these rivers differ in point of time; the Tigris appearing to be at its highest point about the middle of April;* but the Euphrates late in June. This may be owing partly to the earlier melting of the snows, on the southern slope of Taurus; partly to the shorter distance which the water has to run.

The measure of swelling of the Tigris is well ascertained to be about 16 feet English.† That of the Euphrates is said to be less; but there is no good authority for the statement of it.

It may be seen by the Map No. III. that the canals are not carried by the shortest line, from one river to the other; but, on the contrary, in very oblique directions. Those of the Isa, and Nahr Malka, in particular, which are the best known, are one third longer than the distance between the two rivers. This is to be accounted for, first from the necessity of finding a declivity for the water to run on; and secondly, that as the Tigris is high, whilst the Euphrates is low, it was necessary to guard against mischief, from the refluent motion of the waters of the Tigris through them.

Although there are at least four canals of communication recorded in the flourishing times of the caliphate, yet at present (and for some centuries back) no more than one has remained open: and even *that* one, runs only during the floods

become shallower, by depositions; and one may form a tolerable guess concerning the place of his *Pallacopa*.

Arrian had heard of the superior level of the Euphrates, but erroneously applied it to its *whole* course. (Lib. vii.)

* Mr. Eyles Irwin's Travels.

† The same.

of the Euphrates. That canal is the *Isa;* which emanates from the Euphrates at Feluja, and enters the Tigris at the head of Old Baghdad.* From there being an ancient ruin of Assyrian fabric, (Aggar-Kuf†) near this canal, it may perhaps be inferred that a canal passed in this line, from very early times. The Nahr Malka too, another principal canal, whose bed is still traceable,‡ must have occupied much the same position in Macedonian and Roman times, as in those of the caliphate. And finally there appears an evident coincidence in general position, between the *upper* canals of Xenophon, and in that one whose outlet is noticed by Balbi, in 1579; and which was partly traced by Texeira in 1606.§

The alluvial ground between the two rivers, appears to extend upwards, 20 or 30 miles beyond the Isthmus, on the side towards the Euphrates; but much more on that towards the Tigris.

The Euphrates is said by M. Niebuhr to be 400 feet in breadth at the bridge of Hillah: and the Tigris, at that of Baghdad, 600. If Rhinland feet are intended, the former

* The Old Baghdad here intended is the *first* Baghdad, which stood higher up the Tigris; but so near to the other, that the present city adjoins to the site of the old one. The old city stood chiefly on the *Mesopotamian* side; the modern on the *Median* side.

† Possibly the *Agrani* of the Ancients.

‡ Besides the authority of Sir Harford Jones, which is unquestionable, others have remarked a hollow space, which agrees in situation with the *Nahr Malka.*

§ The *outlet* seen by Signior Balbi, was at 8 hours of *slow* navigation *downwards,* short of Feluja, and for which $14\frac{1}{4}$ G. miles in direct distance are allowed. And it being about $33\frac{1}{4}$ below the point of commencement of the plains of Babylonia, it agrees with the $15\frac{1}{2}$ parasangas of Xenophon, below the *Pylæ.* It was in the same position that Texeira traced the bed of a canal, which he represents as being in a great measure filled up.

would be about 411 British, the latter 617.* There are other Reports; but we prefer the statement of M. Niebuhr, from his known accuracy.† At Hillah, which stands on a part of the site of the ancient Babylon, the stream of the Euphrates is *entire*, during the tranquil seasons; no part of it being diverted by lateral branches. Strabo says that the bridge of Babylon was a stadium in length; so that the *river* may perhaps be reckoned by his account much short of 500 feet in breadth; but even admitting 500, it cannot be believed that it supplied many navigable canals, at one and the same time: especially of the dimensions reported by Xenophon (Anab. Lib. I. c. 32.) of a *plethrum*, or 100 feet wide, and very deep: and of which there were said to be *four*, within the space of as many leagues! He says, indeed, that they were "*derived* from the *Tigris*, and *fell into* the *Euphrates*;" which is contrary to every thing known on the subject; and might arise from his want of recollection when he put his book together. That *one* of them *communicated* with the Tigris appears likely; but why *four* of such dimensions, within a league of each other, from whichsoever of the two rivers they might have been derived? The account is improbable on the face of it. Possibly, one of them might have been the canal of communication between the two rivers: and the rest might serve the useful purpose of distributing water for agriculture, and for watering the date groves, which were said to abound there;‡ and the cause

* The Rhinland or Leyden foot is said to be in general use amongst the northern nations of Europe. It is $12\frac{1}{3}$ inches of British measure.

† Texeira says that the Tigris is 500 feet in breadth, when very low; and he also reckoned the Euphrates at Masseib (near Hillah) 200 paces wide.

‡ Xenophon, Anab. Lib. ii. 10; and Ammianus Lib. xxiv.

why so many originated so nearly in the same place, might be, that it was the properest place in point of level for a common outlet; and that they afterwards diverged towards different quarters; affording at the same time a navigation as far as they went. But four canals of 100 feet wide each, and very deep; drawn from a river of less than 500 feet in breadth, and all within 9 miles, is doubtless a mistake.

Indeed it appears improbable that more than one large canal of communication, and that in a navigable state the whole year, should at any time have been kept up. Nor is there any rational mode of accounting for so many having been in existence at one and the same time (as the four recorded by Abulfeda), than that when a new capital city was founded at the Tigris, a new canal of communication might have been made, or an old one cleared out, to accommodate it; as the *Nahr Malka* for *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon;* or the *Isa* for Baghdad. After which the old canal, by being neglected, would gradually fill up; so that water would be found in it, during the season of floods only. For experience shows, in other places, how much care is necessary, to keep canals open at all, for any great length of time; where nature herself does not favour the operation.*

* Since the above was written, the author has seen Mr. Rich's very interesting Memoir, on the Ruins of Ancient *Babylon*. He measured the breadth of the Euphrates at the bridge of Hillah, and found it to be 450 feet.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE PYLÆ, TO SITACE.

Discussion of the principal Positions between the Rivers Araxes *and* Zabatus *(Khabour and Zab); with a view to determine the position of* Sitace *on the* Tigris; *and the intermediate places. Progress of* Cyrus *through* Babylonia, *to the field of battle at* Cunaxa—*Death of* Cyrus—*Marches of the Greeks to effect their escape—Truce and Treaty—Long and insidious detention of the* Greeks *by the* Persians—*Conducted at length across the* Tigris *at* Sitace—*Calculation of the distance between* Cunaxa *and* Sitace—*Site of* Cunaxa, *as deduced from the marches of* Xenophon, *and from the reports of its distance from* Babylon—Canals *crossed by the* Greeks *in* Babylonia—Wall *of* Media—Sitace *and its* Bridge *of* pontoons.

After this long, but necessary digression, concerning the rivers and their canals, we proceed to trace the interval of distance (as stated above in page 73), from the *Zabatus* back to *Sitace*, on the one hand: and on the other, the interval between the *Araxes* and *Sitace*, through the *Pylæ* and *Cunaxa*.

The city of *Sitace* was 15 marches of the Greeks (accompanied by *Tissaphernes,*) *short* of the *Zabatus*: and for these

70 parasangas are allowed by Xenophon, (Lib. II. c. 18, *et seq.*)

In this instance the distance reported, falls short of the calculation, on the mean marches, by about 14 British miles by the road; and the latter is preferred, for reasons that will presently be set forth.

If 15 *mean* marches, equal to 159 G. miles in direct distance, be laid off from the place of conflux of the Zab with the Tigris, towards Baghdad and Modain, that distance will reach to a point about 11 such miles *below* Baghdad; whilst the 70 parasangas, equal to 150 G. miles, reach about 2 miles only beyond Baghdad. Thus the account by marches, and that by positive distance, differ only 9 G. miles, on the construction, on 15 marches; which is satisfactory in a matter of this kind: but as Xenophon reckons 4 marches of 4 paras. each, or 16 paras. between *Cænæ* and the *Zabatus*; whilst Senn, which answers to the former, is given, by more than one authority, at 36 Arabian miles, or 38 G. miles, *direct*, from the above conflux; the distance comes to 18 rather than 16 parasangas: so that it may be presumed that the distance on this line is generally under-rated, and therefore the account by the marches is preferred. Accordingly *Sitace*, by this arrangement, will fall at 11 G. miles below Baghdad; and nearly opposite to the *embouchure* of the Deälla river. It appears almost conclusive, that the Greeks did not cross the Tigris below it, because the Deälla being a deep river, passable only in boats or over a bridge, Xenophon would doubtless have mentioned it, under the circumstances in which they were then placed; as Ammianus does, who really crossed the Tigris below the junction.

In the next place, we shall enquire into the particulars of the march, between the *Pylæ* and *Sitace;* a more complicated matter than the last.

From a long and attentive examination of the subject of the canals, both ancient and modern, it appears to the author that there is reason to suppose, that the general courses of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, in that part of *Mesopotamia*, where they approach so near to each other, are much the same now, as in the times when they were the subject of ancient history. And hence, the ancient notices, as far as they go, may be applied to the present geography.*

The authorities from whence we have derived our ideas respecting the line of boundary between the hilly or mountainous tract, and the level country of *Babylonia*, are here given in detail. And as, from the expression of Xenophon, it would clearly appear that, immediately after passing the *straits* or *Pylæ*, they entered the plains of *Babylonia;* it may be supposed that the straits were situated at the place where the mountains *terminate*, on the banks of the river; and that they are formed by the near approach of the base of the mountains to the river bank. However, no notices respecting a strait in that quarter

* For the fact is that Strabo, (p. 80) allows 200 stadia for the breadth of the land between the two rivers; which is at present about 17 G. miles, or 20 British. It appears also that the space between *Seleucia*, at the Tigris, and the pass of the Euphrates, in the line towards Hit, was 9 *Schoenes*, or about 26 G. miles, *direct*, in the Itinerary of Isidore of *Charax:* and finally, that the Tigris still washes the remains of *Ctesiphon;* and that the Euphrates passes through the site of *Babylon*, as in ancient times: so that it may be justly inferred that no considerable change has taken place *in this quarter*, since the date of Roman times at least.

The site of *Seleucia* is recognised by the remains of *Ctesiphon*, which lay adjacent to it. The Arabian conquerors named the two cities, collectively, *Modain*, or the *two Cities*.

appear in any modern document: and it may still be a question, whether the place denominated the *Pylæ*, by Xenophon, may not refer to the shutting up of the river itself, between the mountains? For the mountains terminate at the same place on both sides of the river.*

An English officer, Capt. Evers, who travelled from Baghdad to Aleppo, in 1779, remarks that he halted with the caravan, at the distance of 5 *hours* travelling to the eastward (or E.S.E.) of Hit; and at 5 miles to the northward of the Euphrates; in a valley surrounded by high mountains. And, as on his way he had ascended a hill on the morning of the same day, it may be concluded, knowing his rate of travelling, that the hilly tract extends at least 9 or 10 hours journey (caravan rate) below Hit: that is 20 G. miles in direct distance. And that it does not extend much farther, if at all, another of his remarks proves; for at 12 hours (24 or 25 G. miles) below Hit, he describes the country to be "a pleasant plain, agreeably "interspersed with young *southernwood*, bushes, and wild-"flowers." The journal of Texeira, (1604) fixes the termination of the plain and commencement of the "uneven, craggy "stony country," somewhat farther from Hit; but more inland from the Euphrates; so as to correspond in point of distance with the former line of boundary, at the river side.

Signor Balbi, who sailed down the Euphrates in 1579, re-

* The strait of *Nazerya*, described by Texeira, will, on no account, answer to the *Pylæ* of Xenophon, as M. D'Anville supposed. For its position is nearly 50 G. miles above the commencement of the *Babylonian* plains; whereas Cyrus entered those plains immediately after passing the *Pylæ*. Again, the canals commenced at 15 parasangas or 32 G. miles below the *Pylæ*; but Nazerya is 79 G. miles above the uppermost canal. M. D'Anville was not perhaps aware, how low down the hilly tract extended.

M. Larcher had an idea that a *city*, not a *strait*, is intended.

marks that the country *the day after* he left Hit was *mountainous;* but he gives no *positive* intimation concerning the distance: but by what can be collected from the proportion this part of the route bore to the remainder of his voyage to Feluja, it agrees generally with Evers's report.

The town of Hit, according to the geographical construction, falls at $97\frac{1}{2}$ G. miles from Baghdad: and the site of *Sitace*, at 11 G. miles below Baghdad,* by the same construction, is 107 from Hit: so that the place of the *Pylæ* being 20 below Hit, 87 will, of course, remain for the distance between the *Pylæ* and *Sitace*.

Thus the positions of *Sitace* and the *Pylæ* are approximated: and it will now be proper to trace the route of Cyrus, from the river *Araxes* (the Khabour) to *Sitace;* through the *Pylæ;* in the course of which, will arise the positions of the canals of communication, which form a slight check to the other positions; and also the place of the field of *Cunaxa*.

The History gives us to understand (as we have before remarked) that the route of Cyrus between the *Araxes* and *Pylæ*, lay along the general course of the Euphrates; and it may be collected, that he kept near enough to it to arrange his encampments, with a view to avail himself of the use of its waters; as no complaint of want of water appears. Consequently, in order to measure his line of route, it should be traced, so as to skirt the *general* course of the river, in the mode that the route may be supposed to have done. And in this way nearly 200 G. miles are measured, between the aforesaid points; and which, reduced to road distance, may give a mean of nearly $14\frac{1}{2}$ British miles; or somewhat above the standard of the

* See above, page 82.

mean march, on the 18 marches: but for which, upwards of 19 miles are given in the history. (See above, page 71.)

It is certain that we are told by Xenophon, (Lib. I. c. 24.) that "some of these marches were very long, when Cyrus "had a mind that his army should go on till they came to "water or forage." And this refers particularly to the *hilly* desert, between *Corsote* and the *Pylæ*; in which it appears that they were incommoded and delayed, by the badness of the roads: so that the marches might have been lengthened, both in time and in distance, *by the road*, without adding to the *direct* progress; which alone can be shown by the geography. At all events, the ground between the *Araxes* and the supposed place of the *Pylæ*, will not admit of a greater distance than is produced by 18 *mean* marches. It may also be remarked, that the tract towards Hit, is represented by modern travellers to be exceedingly rugged and mountainous.*

From the *Pylæ*, (Lib. I. c. 30.) Cyrus marched in 3 days 12 parasangas "through the country of *Babylon*," and then

* Since the construction of the general geography, the author has seen M. Olivier's 5th volume. According to his journal, the distance between Annah and Hit, along the Mesopotamian side, would be increased 10 G. miles: but as Mr. Beawes gives the direct distance between them, on the Arabian side, at three journies, one cannot suppose that they are *farther asunder in direct distance*, than the construction gives. The Euphrates, by its winding in a greater degree than we expected, in that part, may produce the distance set forth by M. Olivier; or the road may be unusually rough.

The shortest trace of the road along the eastern bank, on the construction, between Annah and Hit, is 59 G. miles, and M. Olivier's time may be taken at 36 hours. His rate was *very slow*, with the caravan; and even with the above addition, his daily progress, in direct distance, would be little more than 15 miles *per* day. The 36 hours might be allowed to produce in this rough country 68 or 69 G. miles, *direct*.

It cannot, however, be collected from M. Olivier's journal, where the plain (of *Babylonia*) ends, and the hilly tract commences; with any degree of exactness.

reviewed his forces in the *plain* at midnight; expecting the King to give him battle the next morning; but no enemy appearing, he marched the 4th day, "in order of battle," 3 parasangas: and in the course of this march, he first passed an unfinished trench or canal, (made, according to Xenophon, by way of fortification,) and afterwards came to the *Canals of Communication* between the Euphrates and Tigris, over which there were permanent bridges.*

On the next day, (the 5th from the *Pylæ*) Cyrus, thinking that his brother would not meet him at the head of his army, as he had allowed him to pass the trench, &c. unmolested, "marched with less circumspection," and the day following, (the 6th, that is the day on which the battle was fought,) no kind of order was observed on the march, until the enemy's army was discovered at a distance; Cyrus riding on his car, and many of his soldiers' arms being deposited in the waggons. The distance of the camp, the day before the battle, from the field itself, is known by Ariæus's return to it, the night after the battle, to be 4 parasangas: and indeed the march was nearly completed when the enemy appeared. (Lib. I. c. 34.) But the length of the march on the preceding day (the 5th from the *Pylæ*), can only be guessed; but may probably be

* It has been already remarked, (page 79,) that these canals were said by Xenophon (Lib. I. c. 32), to be "derived from the Tigris, and fall into the Euphrates." This however appears to be a mistake; unless he meant that canals originally derived from the Tigris, first fell into a canal, or branch, derived from the Euphrates; and afterwards, collectively, joined the Tigris: because all the canals of communication, above *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon*, certainly ran from the Euphrates into the Tigris; as at present. Moreover, Xenophon was there at a time when *both* of the rivers were low; and the bed of the Tigris, at and above *Seleucia*, is lower than that of the Euphrates; although the contrary takes place lower down. (See the Map No. III. for the canals, &c.)

nearly the same as the succeeding one: for as that was of 4 parasangas, when marching *without* order, the other may be supposed to be somewhat less, because they appear to have preserved some kind of order. But if taken at 4, like the other, 23 parasangas may be taken for the distance of the field of battle from the *Pylæ*; or in direct distance $49\frac{1}{4}$ G. miles.*

It appears that the Greeks, the day after the battle, (in which Cyrus was slain; and their object, of course, changed, from that of establishing a new king of Persia, to that of providing for their own safety, against the attacks of the king whom they meant to dethrone;) marched to join Ariæus, who had commanded the native troops belonging to Cyrus.† They found him at the place of their encampment, on the day before the battle, situated, according to the former statement, at 19 parasangas below the *Pylæ*.‡

From this place, the route of the Greeks, with Ariæus, may be traced as follows: on the first morning they set off with the sun on their *right* hand; and it being about the time of the equinox, their course must have been northerly, or probably somewhat to the east of north, from what will presently appear. They continued marching a great part of the day, but doubtless in order of battle, as they might expect that a

* Hence the field of *Cunaxa* should have been near Feluja. (See again the Map, No. III.)

† The author has purposely omitted in this place his remarks on the battle, and on the subsequent conduct of the Greeks; that he might not break the thread of the Geographical Discussion. The Remarks will be found in the succeeding chapter.

‡ That is, 4 parasangas *above* the field of battle, which was 23 below the *Pylæ*: Ariæus having, at the close of the day of battle, marched back to the place of encampment, on the preceding day. (Lib. II. c. 1.)

part of the King's troops was near them: and moreover, they had unquestionably some of the deep canals which they had crossed in the march, over permanent bridges, to *recross* in the best manner they could.*

Their present object was to endeavour to get the start of the Persian army, by making their first two or three marches as long as possible; that with a large army, the king might not be able to overtake them; and they concluded that with a small one, he would not venture to pursue them.† They appear, however, to have deceived themselves, as a part of the king's army, doubtless the cavalry, was found quartered in their neighbourhood on the same evening. (Lib. II. c. 7.)

It had been the advice of Ariæus, not to attempt to return by the way they came; in which no provisions could be procured (in effect the Mesopotamian and Arabian deserts); but by another route more circuitous, but where they would be in no want: and the course they were taking, shows that Ariæus (if he was sincere at that time, and he had not then been tampered with,) meant that they should cross *Mesopotamia*, in a north-easterly direction, and probably pass the Tigris about Samarra; which they might have reached in 4 or 5 forced marches; and thus have disentangled themselves from the desert of Sinjar. But even then, they would have been much in the same situation (the loss of their general excepted) as they afterwards found themselves at the *Zabatus*.

The following morning, however, they acceded to a truce,

* See again the Map, No. III.

† "This scheme for the march of the army, was calculated only to effect their escape "from the power of the king; BUT FORTUNE PROVED A MORE GLORIOUS CON-"DUCTOR!" (Lib. II. c. 7.)

and were conducted to some of the Babylonian villages, to be quartered and supplied with provisions.

Let it now be supposed, that the first march from the camp which they had occupied the day before the battle, and to which they returned after it, was 6 parasangas, north somewhat east: and the second to the provision villages, a very short one; perhaps only 2 parasangas: because there was no want of villages in that quarter, as may be collected from the transactions on the preceding evening; as well as from the speech of Clearchus to the king's messengers, who were sent to treat concerning a truce, early that morning. For that speech expressing a *demand* for an *immediate* supply of provisions, it appears to have been almost immediately complied with; by conducting the Greeks to villages, in which they found plenty of corn, dates, and palm wine.*

In and about these villages they were detained 26 days, and they then marched in company with Tissaphernes and Ariæus, towards *Sitace* and the Tigris; the king having insidiously consented to escort them towards Ionia; not that the Greeks *in general* were unsuspicious of some intended treachery, but their situation was such as compelled them to acquiesce for the present. Even the delay at the villages must have convinced them that it was to gain time, in order to collect troops to attack them on the march. But for this the Greeks had no remedy.

At the end of the 3d march from the villages, they came to the *wall of Media*, built of burnt bricks, laid in bitumen, and said to be 20 feet thick, and 100 in height. (Doubtless a

* Ammianus describes this tract as a kind of forest of palms: and these always imply population.

corruption in the numbers.) During the two succeeding marches, they are said to have made 4 parasangas each day, which brought them to *Sitace;* situated at half a parasanga from the [western bank of the] Tigris. Let 4 parasangas also be allowed for each of the 3 marches, from the villages to the wall (the length of which is omitted); and then the account of the march, from the camp before the battle, will stand thus:

To the camp in which the truce was concluded, north, a little easterly - -	6 Parasangas.
Thence to the provision villages, south-easterly - - - - - -	2*
To the wall of Media, S. E.-ly -	12
To Sitace, S. E.-ly, or E. S. E. - -	8
Total	28

These courses and distances, constructed geometrically, produce $20\frac{1}{2}$ parasangas for the distance of the camp, the day before the battle, from *Sitace;* or reduced to direct distance, $44\frac{1}{4}$ geographical miles. And this camp being 19 parasangas (see page 88); equal to $40\frac{3}{4}$ G. miles from the *Pylæ;* the aggregate gives 85 G. miles between the *Pylæ* and *Sitace:* and 87 is the result deduced from Hit. (See above page 85.)

This agreement between the two results, for so trifling a difference is not to be regarded, is merely the effect of accident; and, admitting the whole geographical system to be right,

* Neither the length nor direction of this march is given. Concerning the supposed length, we have spoken before: the direction was probably towards the passage of the Tigris at *Sitace*; to which they were afterwards conducted; and which was probably designed, from the moment of concluding the truce.

(as we trust it is, so far as the *data* on which it is founded, will admit;) may be regarded as decisive of the positions of the *Pylæ*; of *Sitace;* the field of battle; and the outlets of the canals of communication.

To those who may slight the above checks, and who may object to the distribution of the space, altogether, between the *Araxes* and the *Zabatus;* on the ground that the position of *Sitace* is merely *assumed:* no other answer can be given, than that there is much *presumptive* proof, in the general statement of the distance, and number of marches, given from *Sitace* to the *Zabatus;* as well as in the harmony that prevails between the intervals generally. Such is the agreement of the respective intervals of distance, between the *Araxes* and the commencement of the plains of *Babylonia;* as also between the latter and the outlet of the uppermost canal of communication; and between that canal and *Cunaxa*, according to the position given to it by Plutarch, and implied from Xenophon; (the details of which will presently be given;) and finally, between *Cunaxa* and *Sitace*. Moreover, it has been remarked, that the uppermost canal seen by Balbi in 1579, corresponds generally with that seen by Xenophon: and the position of the field of *Cunaxa*, reckoned *downwards*, either from that canal or from the Pylæ; or *upwards*, from the site of *Sitace;* agrees nearly with Plutarch's report of its distance from Babylon. To all which may be added, that the *number of marches*, taken at the mean rate, under the circumstances of each respective case; or, in other words, the distance on the route, as it may be understood from the history, agrees generally with the space arising on the geographical construction, throughout the whole space between the *Araxes* and the *Zabatus*.

Concerning the position of the field of battle of *Cunaxa*, Xenophon is made to say in the copies of the *Anabasis*, generally, that it was 3060 stadia from Babylon. (Lib. II. c. 5.) but M. Larcher finds 360 in a copy in the late king of France's library: and also in the Eton MS. Plutarch, in the life of Artaxerxes, says 500: and he also adds the name of the place, *Cunaxa:* both, perhaps, from Ctesias.*

The 3060 stadia can be nothing but a corruption; the other numbers may be regarded as approximations: and if Plutarch's information comes from the Persian quarter, it is likely to be the nearest to the truth. According to these reports, combined with the result of the enquiry in page 88, which gave 23 parasangas, or $49\frac{1}{4}$ G. miles below the *Pylæ*, the field of *Cunaxa* should have been at a few miles below Feluja, the present *port* of Baghdad, on the Euphrates, and at about 30 G. miles to the westward of that city. In respect of ancient Babylon, the *site* in question, is about 45 G. miles, in direct distance; whilst the 500 stadia of Plutarch, if taken at the standard of Strabo's scale of 700 to a degree, would give 43 such miles; and if at that of the Grecian Itinerary stade, in the geography of Herodotus, which is 718, nearly 42. The 360 of Xenophon, at his own standard, give 30 only. When it is considered that the Greeks made 5 marches, although of no great length, between the villages in which they had been so long quartered, to *Sitace*, and that they only reached the Median wall, in the first three of these marches, it is difficult to conceive any geographical arrangement that will suit a nearer position, in respect of Babylon, than 500 stades, or upwards, for the site of the field of battle.†

* See the note, page 72.

† There was said to be a hill or eminence at the place of battle; (Lib. I, at the end,)

We shall conclude this head of enquiry, with some observations on the positions of the canals that were traversed by the Greeks, and on the wall of *Media*.

The great trench dug by order of the king of Persia, with a view to impede the motions of Cyrus, but which, by not being continued to the Euphrates, left a passage for his army;* occurred in the 4th march from the *Pylæ;* or from 12 to 15 parasangas from the commencement of the Babylonian plains. The great canals of communication, between the Euphrates and Tigris, seem to have immediately succeeded to this trench: for Xenophon says "in this plain are the canals;" &c.†; 4 in number, at the distance of a parasanga from each other; that is, they occupied 3 parasangas of space in the line of march. Hence one of them at least may be supposed to have occurred in that day's march: and was therefore *short* of 15 parasangas from the *Pylæ*. For the trench was said to be met with, in the *middle* of the march; by which may probably be understood, about half way onwards, on that day's march; or 13 to 14 parasangas from the *Pylæ*. And the canals must of course have been lower down.

It appears from the geographical construction, that Balbi's

which, in a country almost entirely flat, should lead to the discovery of the situation. However it might be nothing more than a mound *thrown up*. Texeira saw, at the distance of about 30 G. miles to the westward of Baghdad, "a *ridge*, lying on his left (i. e. southward), about three leagues distant, on which there appeared two high minarets; and at the foot of it, on the further side, next the bank of the Euphrates, there was an Arab town." Xenophon speaks of a village at the foot of the eminence, perhaps *Cunaxa* itself: and by the transactions, very near the Euphrates. The field of battle should have been about the same distance from the site of Baghdad, as the above ridge.

* But if completed, of what use could it have been, without a proper force to defend it?

† Lib. I. c. 32.

uppermost canal was about $33\frac{1}{2}$ G. miles below the commencement of the plains; or about $15\frac{1}{2}$ parasangas (of Xenophon's scale): so that it may be supposed to occupy the place of one of Xenophon's canals; and perhaps that of the uppermost one. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose, that *about* this position, a canal, or the remains of one, may have existed, ever since the time that the ground was first opened for that purpose: either that the level, or the soil in that particular line, was naturally the most favourable for the purpose of making a canal of communication, between the two rivers; and which operation may have been repeated, in whole, or in part, as often as became necessary: or that the opening being once made, with a direction and level favourable to its permanency, it had lasted beyond the usual term of such works.*

In their way to the *provision* villages, on the short march of the second day, they crossed canals, over which it was necessary to make temporary bridges. Whether these were canals drawn from the larger ones, for the purpose of irrigation, such as Xenophon saw near *Sitace;* whether they were the same which they had crossed in their way *downwards*, and must have *re-crossed* in their march northward; or lastly, whether they were not drawn immediately from a branch of the Tigris, for the purpose of irrigation, cannot be known.

No canals are mentioned, between the provision villages and the *Median Wall*, in the course of three marches; although it appears almost certain, that such must have occurred. Between the *wall* and *Sitace*, two are spoken of, as being drawn

* Or it might have occupied a part of the ancient bed of the Euphrates. Although the level rises by degrees, by the depositions of floods, the surface may preserve its form; and the beds of ancient rivers or canals remain for an incredible length of time.

from the Tigris; apparently for the purpose of irrigation, only: besides a third, at Sitace itself. See again the Map, No. III.

The *wall* of *Media* appears to have stretched across the narrow isthmus, between the *Tigris* and *Euphrates;* terminating on the former, a little above the *site* of Baghdad; and on the latter, not far above the *outlet* of the *Nahr-Malka* canal: for Julian came to the termination of it, at a place named *Macepracta;* and soon after came to the head of the canal. The Greeks passed through it, at 8 parasangas short of *Sitace:* so that, combining these notices together, one may conclude that it was drawn across the isthmus between the two rivers: extending in length about 24 British miles: and its use, to cover the *lower* and most fruitful part of *Mesopotamia*, together with the principal cities within it, from the attacks of the *Medes*, or the *Assyrians* of *Nineveh*. It was therefore constructed with the same view as the wall of *Corinth;* the *Hexamilia* of the *Thracian Chersonesus;* or the wall of Severus, in Britain: all of which were placed at the narrowest part, between the surrounding seas.*

* This wall is named by Strabo (page 80), from Semiramis, who perhaps had the reputation of building it. He extends it across the narrowest part of the land between the two rivers; where he says, it is somewhat more than 200 stadia across. (See above, note page 83.) So far we agree in opinion with him: but he supposed that *Opis* stood at the place where the wall touched the bank of the Tigris. This, however, is irreconcileable with the distances given by Xenophon. The Greeks passed through the gate of the wall, at 8 parasangas short of *Sitace*; and *Opis* was 20 parasangas higher up than *Sitace*; whilst the *whole* breadth of the isthmus, which determined the *length* of the wall, was no more than about 8 parasangas!

Moreover, Sitace, according to Strabo's position of the upper end of the wall, would have fallen 17 or 18 miles below the *site* of *Seleucia*; which is highly improbable.

Many difficulties, however, occur, in reconciling the different notices, respecting the positions of different portions of this wall: amongst others, Xenophon says that it was "20 parasangas in length, and was not far from Babylon."* And when at the *trench*, made by order of the king, he says,† that "it extended 12 parasangas upwards, traversing the plain as far as the the wall of Media."‡ According to our idea, the trench could not be less than 18 or 20 parasangas from the wall; and Babylon 15.

The canal which joined the Tigris immediately below *Sitace*; and which from its depth, as well as its forming the tract in which this city stood, into an island; was probably drawn from the Euphrates. In position it agrees to the place of the *Sarsar* canal, of the time of the Caliphs: which was the *shortest* of all the canals of communication between the two rivers.

Sitace itself was "a large and populous city" in *Babylonia*, at 15 stadia from the Tigris; and was probably next in rank to *Babylon*. By its having a permanent bridge (of boats) it may be supposed to have been the principal pass over the Tigris, between Babylon, Media and Armenia. And as Strabo says (page 744), that *Sitace* lay in the *way* from *Babylon* to *Susa*, it may have served for Susa also; for in that sense only, it could be said to be situated in the road to Susa.§

The wall was in a ruinous state when seen by Ammianus; but that was more than seven centuries and a half after the time of Xenophon: and it had probably ceased to be of use, even before his time, by the union of *Assyria* and *Media*, with *Babylonia*.

* Anab. Lib. II. c. 15. † Lib. I. c. 32.

‡ Diodorus says much the same: i.e. 400 stadia; 12 parasangas of Xenophon being 360.

§ Possibly the *country* of *Sittacene*, not the city itself, was intended; and this may have extended far to the south-east of the *city* of *Sitace*.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

At present there is no bridge over the Tigris below Mosul save the one at Baghdad; which has been supposed to stand at about 11 miles higher up than the site of *Sitace*; and may indeed be considered as its representative. M. D'Anville supposed that the ruins of Aggarkuf, at 9 or 10 miles to the westward of Baghdad, were the remains of *Sitace*. Aggarkuf is doubtless of Assyrian origin, by the nature of the building;* and M. D'Anville understood that the Tigris once flowed past it.

Xenophon relates that the bridge of *Sitace* was supported by *37 pontoons*. That of Baghdad had, when Balbi saw it in 1579, exactly the same number; Thevenot says 40, in 1664; and Mr. Ives counted 39, in 1758: and again M. Niebuhr, 34, in 1766. One might have concluded, from these examples, which furnish a mean number that agrees with Xenophon, that experience had in all ages pointed out this plan as the best. But on the other hand, Texeira, an observant man, says 28 only, in 1605; and Della Valle 29, in 1616; and he adds, that more were added as the river increased: but it may be perceived that these two accounts differ from all the rest.

* See Mr. Ives's description of it, in his Journal.

CHAPTER VI.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE FOREGOING MARCH, FROM MYRIANDRUS TO SITACE; ON THE BATTLE OF CUNAXA; AND ON THE SUBSEQUENT STATE OF THE GRECIAN ARMY.

Geographical Arrangement of MESOPOTAMIA, *in the time of Xenophon—Desert of* Mesopotamia, *or Sinjar*—Corsote, *probably* Erzi *or* Irsah—*Mode of supplying Armies in the east, by* Travelling Markets; *in use at that time, as at present—the* Carmande *of Xenophon, probably* Hit—*Quarrel between the Soldiers of* Clearchus *and* Menon—*Treason of* Orontas—*Grand* Review *of* Cyrus's *whole Army, three days before the battle of* Cunaxa—*that battle lost by the error or self-will of* Clearchus —*General Ability and Conduct of the* Grecian Commanders, *after the Death of* Cyrus—*Flourishing State of the country of* Babylonia—Palm *Groves*—Wine *and* Honey *of the* Palm *Trees.*

IN the course of the two last Chapters, the route of the Greeks has been traced geographically, through *Mesopotamia* to *Sitace;* with a view of comparing the historical detail of the marches, with the ground actually marched over. And before we accompany them across the Tigris, the indulgence

of the reader is solicited, whilst certain particulars that occurred during the march, are considered: and which were omitted in place, in order that the course of the geographical discussion might not be interrupted.

When Xenophon entered *Mesopotamia*, he called that part of it, which lay to the northward of the *Araxes* (Khabour), SYRIA; that between the *Araxes* and the *Pylæ*, ARABIA; and the tract between the *Pylæ* and the river Tigris, BABYLONIA. So that according to him, Syria comprised the *fertile* tract, on both sides of the Euphrates; as in like manner, Arabia comprised the *desert* part, on both sides of it, as far as Babylonia; the river Araxes forming the boundary between them. The name *Mesopotamia* does not appear to have been applied to the tract between the two rivers, till after the Macedonian conquest.

Pliny (Lib. v. c. 24.) includes *Singara* (Sinjar) in Arabia; whence it would appear, that the name was extended the whole way across Mesopotamia, to the Tigris; the desert of Sinjar constituting a part of Arabia. In effect, *Syria* expressed the *fertile* part; Arabia the *desert* part.

Beyond the Khabour, *(Araxes)* southward, this desert, to the extent of five marches along the Euphrates, is described as being a perfect level, without trees and often covered with *Absynthium*.* Dr. Rauwolf, who only viewed this part of the

* Ammianus Marcellinus, who crossed the eastern part of the same desert, with the remains of Julian's army, on its return, makes nearly the same remark. It may therefore be concluded, that the whole tract in that part is nearly of the same description, from river to river. The wild asses remarked by Xenophon for their swiftness, bear much the same character at present. Texeira, in 1606, saw herds of them in the Arabian desert, immediately *opposite* to the desert of Mesopotamia, where Xenophon saw them.

desert from the vessel, as he sailed along, says that it was absolutely bare. He went too during a more temperate season than Xenophon; for the march of Cyrus from the sea-coast to Babylonia, was made at the hottest and driest season of the year. Balbi is silent on this head.

A river named *Masca* by Xenophon, 100 feet in breadth, with the city of *Corsote*, occurred at the end of the level desert, five marches from the *Araxes*. In the first place it may be remarked, that the *level desert* does really terminate (at the side of the Euphrates) at the distance of about five marches from the Khabour river; when the *hilly desert* begins, and continues to the distance of 20 miles below Hit. For although all our modern travellers, (without exception) have kept to the Arabian side of the Euphrates, from the parallel of Aleppo, downwards to Annah, yet their view of the country has proved the above facts, respecting the inequality of its surface, below Erzi; (which may be taken for the site of *Corsote*).

Concerning the river of *Masca* and city of *Corsote*, therefore, nothing is known in these times: for even if the river still ran in its former course, the passengers who descended the Euphrates in boats, might easily miss the *embouchure* of a narrow stream.

Ptolemy has a river in *Mesopotamia*, named *Saocoras*, which in position, answers to the *Masca* of Xenophon, in the lower part of its course: and which is, in reality, a continuation of the river of *Nisibis*, which other geographers have called *Hermas*. Now the *Hermas* no longer runs towards the site of *Corsote*, but falls into the Khabour (the *Araxes* of Xenophon), between Sinjar and Karkisia. Whilst it ran towards *Corsote*, its general course was parallel to that of the *Araxes*; the mountains of Sinjar separating them.

There seems therefore to be little doubt that the *Hermas*, under the name of *Saocoras*, anciently gained the Euphrates, by a separate channel: and also, that it was the Masca of Xenophon.*

A branch of the Hermas ran by *Hatra*, in the desert of Sinjar; and thence to the Tigris, near Tikrit. And this branch or canal existed, down to modern times, as we learn from the oriental geographers: but is now quite dry. As the line of this branch was nearly 130 British miles in length, one may conclude that it was an ancient course of the whole river; and that it gradually deserted its bed; first taking a new course towards *Corsote*, and finally running into the Khabour. The extreme flatness of this region, would give occasion to such changes; especially when aided by the matter of alluvion brought down by the *Hermas*, from the quarter of *Nisibis*.†

A place of the name of *Zagora* occurs in the Theodosian

* Trajan is said to have built his fleet out of the timber of the forests of *Nisibis*: in which fleet he afterwards descended the Euphrates and passed into the Tigris at *Ctesiphon*, by the canal of *Nabr Malka* (the King's river). Now one can only suppose that he carried this fleet to the Euphrates by the *Hermas*; but whether by a separate channel, or by the collective waters of the *Hermas* and *Khaboras*, cannot now be known.

No one can reasonably doubt the fact of Trajan's voyage down the Euphrates, when Ammianus reports that he saw the mound from whence Trajan had harangued his army, near the place of the bitumen fountains: i. e. *Hit*; and also that he is known to have passed into the Tigris through the Nahr Malka.

† The river *Hermas* (now called *Al-Huali*, but known to the oriental geographers under its ancient name also) is formed of a very great number of streams from the southern slope of mount *Masius* (now Karadjy-dag), and waters the territory named by the Macedonians *Mygdonia*; of which *Nisibis* was the capital. (See the note, above.) The *Hermas* and its branches appear to have occasioned great inundations in the plains of *Nisibis*; (Julian Orat. I.) and from its being subject to such floods, it necessarily results that it must carry with it the matter of alluvion.

Tables near *Singara*. It is possible that the river *Saocoras* may have taken its name from it.

Of *Corsote*, Xenophon says that it was "a large city, *uninhabited:* the river (*Masca* is implied,) *ran quite round it*. In this place they staid 3 days, and made their provisions." It is to be understood that Cyrus all along kept to the left bank of the Euphrates; but whether *Corsote* stood so near the latter river, as that *both rivers* helped to surround it, cannot be known. By the expression "*quite round it*," it ought, of course, to have been situated in an island.*

We have been thus particular in stating this matter, because the ruins of a very large city, now named by the people of the desert, Erzi, or Irsah, occur at no great distance from the assumed position of *Corsote*. Signor Balbi and Dr. Rauwolf both speak of it, in their voyaging down the Euphrates; this river forming a very remarkable peninsula, in which these very extensive ruins were contained.†

* It was said to be an uninhabited city, and also in the desert. Yet the Greeks staid there 3 days to make their provisions. Perhaps it was deserted only in consequence of the approach of Cyrus's army: a very common practice in the east, even on the approach of their national army. (See Lib. I. c. 24.)

† By the manner in which Signor Balbi speaks of the remains of El Erzi, it must needs have been a very large city.

He says that its remains are situated on the north side of the river, on a hill of no considerable height, and with a level summit. In his idea, it was much larger than Cairo in Egypt. Its ruins presented to the view nothing but portions of massy walls, and lofty towers. Although aided by the current of the river, and the oars of his vessel, they employed the whole time between morning and noon, in passing it.

This appears extravagant, until it is explained by the remarks of Dr. Rauwolf, who also went the same route. It appears that the river, in this place, forms a peninsula which required *more than half a day* to encompass: so that in fact, Balbi and he made nearly the tour of the whole site of the city. But still it must have been a very large city. Rauwolf was there in 1574; Balbi in 1579.

It may be observed, that the general position of Erzi is very remarkable. For it is situated precisely at the great southern bend of the Euphrates, where it touches on the great desert route, between Syria and the head of the Persian gulf: and in which general position, on the Arabian side, Ptolemy's city of *Agamana* appears to have stood. There are still to be seen on that side also, a tower, and many other ruins. The tower is named *Kahim* or *Gwiam:* one part of the ruins *Manea*, and others *Anga:* as if *Agamana* had consisted of *two names*, belonging to two adjoining towns: of which many instances occur in the east.

Besides these ruins, Signor Balbi passed those of several other cities and towns, on the banks of the Euphrates, between Erzi and Hit; but more particularly between the former and Annah. The edifices themselves were probably those of Mahomedan times, though perhaps raised on more ancient foundations; and they unequivocally prove the existence of a very different state of things, at some former period; when the commerce between the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean, which formed a principal link of the great chain between India and Europe, was in activity. For those cities which lay equally in the track of the land caravans and of the navigation by the Euphrates, were probably supported by that commerce.

But at the date of the expedition of Cyrus, it is almost certain that no such commerce existed, as would afford support to so many towns, situated in an arid desert. We learn from Herodotus, that India was little known to the Persians, before the date of the expeditions of Darius Hystaspes, which were made about a century before the present expedition: and it

ought to be no matter of surprise, that Xenophon should not have remarked any cities or towns in that quarter, between *Corsote* and *Carmande*.

Here it should be noted, that although the Euphrates, in latter times, has been generally avoided by the commercial caravans, because of the want of protection from the different governments, along its banks; since their track would be notoriously known to the robbers of the desert; yet that in better times the advantage of a certain supply of good water, and greater plenty of herbage, induced them to keep to the neighbourhood of the river, as long as its course did not materially diverge from the line of the route.* And accordingly

* An instance of this kind happened in 1789, when the power of the Sheik, whose territory extended along the southern bank of the Euphrates, in the lower part of its course, was exerted to keep that route clear of banditti: he himself encamping near the banks. A caravan, at that time, kept near the Euphrates for more than 90 miles of the way between Semowah and Basrah. The Sheik doubtless was well paid for the protection afforded: but this is no more than is exacted, under some form or other, by all governments.

There still remain in the line of the great desert route, certain fortified posts, whose use appears to have been that of giving protection, and also a supply of water, to the caravans. One of these, named *Al-Kadder*, a very capacious and lofty castle, built of stone, stands nearly opposite to the site of *ancient Babylon*, and was supplied with water from a branch of the Euphrates.

Another very remarkable one, (or rather *two* nearly adjacent to each other), stood at the opening of the pass, leading from the Syrian into the Arabian desert; to the westward of *Thapsacus*. This was supplied with water from the well-known mineral spring of *Al-Kom*, by a subterraneous aqueduct of stone, of at least 11 miles in length; and bespeaks an origin anterior to Mahomedan times.

From these, and other circumstances, one may conclude that a regular system of protection was established, across the Arabian desert (to support which the profits of commerce must have been very considerable), until the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope. And even down to the end of the 16th century, the Euphrates appears to have been the medium of a considerable commerce, between

travellers find that part of the course of the Euphrates, studded with towns, cities, and castles; either in a state of absolute ruin, or of great decay; in a very few instances only, having preserved their respectability, owing to some peculiar circumstances. In effect, the state of things (the ruins excepted) is much the same now, as in the time of Xenophon.

Xenophon does not pointedly remark the change of country, from a perfect level as he describes it after passing the *Araxes*,* to hilly and mountainous at *Corsote*; but remarks it *incidentally* only, by saying that some of the Persian officers of rank *ran down a steep hill*.† He speaks of the very sterile nature of this desert: there was no grass, nor any other plant, but the whole country was bare: so that many of the sumpter horses died of hunger. Nor is this state of things at all uncommon in warm climates, even in tracts which cannot properly be reckoned deserts; since the herbage is in a manner burnt up, in seasons when violent heats, and a want of rain, have prevailed for any length of time.‡

Aleppo, Baghdad, and Basrah. (See Hakluyt's and other collections of Voyages and Travels).

* "Even as the sea, and full of *Absynthium*." (Anabasis, Lib. I. c. 23.)

† Lib. I. c. 24.

‡ The narrative of the distresses occasioned by the march through this desert, furnishes an article of information, which shows that the mode of provisioning an eastern army, was much the same in ancient times, as at present; that is by a *travelling market*. (See also Lib. I. c. 7.)

It is said, (Lib. I. c. 24.) that "at this time the army wanted corn, and there was "none to be bought, but in the *Lydian* market, which was in the camp of the barba-"rians, belonging to Cyrus."

M. Larcher has a note on this passage, Vol. I. p. 53, "C'étoient les vivandiers de "l'armée. Depuis que le Grand Cyrus avoit interdit les armes aux *Lydiens*, ce peuple "ne s'appliquoit plus qu'au commerce, et même au trafic le plus bas. Voy. Herod. "Lib. I. § 155 and 157."

The city of *Carmande*, situated on the Arabian side of the Euphrates, lay opposite to the desert.* M. D'Anville and others had placed this city in the quarter of *Corsote;* but Mr. Spelman near the *Pylæ;* and it appears by a notice in M. Larcher's preface, that a fragment of Sophenetus throws some light on its position, which was not far from the *Pylæ*. This fragment is preserved in Stephen of Byzantium: and is to the following effect, as quoted by M. Larcher:

" Au-delà de l'Euphrate, auprès de Pyles de la Babylonie, " étoit bâtie une ville nommée *Charmandé*."

In the Map to M. Larcher's translation of the *Anabasis*, *Carmande* or *Charmande* is placed directly opposite to the *Pylæ* (or rather to *Pyles*, which he regards as a *city* or *town*, and not as a passage through mountains, as most others seem to do). But the *Anabasis* (Lib. I. c. 25) describes a desert only, opposite to *Carmande*, according to the text of M. Larcher, (Vol. I. page 56): " Il y avoit au-delà de l'Euphrate et " vis-à-vis du lieu désert *où campoient les troupes*, une ville " grande et riche, nommée *Carmande*."† Hence it would appear that there was no *city* on the *Mesopotamian* side, opposite to *Carmande*.

We should regard Hit as the *Carmande* in question.‡ It is indeed 20 G. miles above the assumed position of the *Pylæ;* but in speaking of a long extent of march, and in which towns

* Lib. I. c. 25.

† Mr. Spelman translates the passage somewhat differently: " During their march " through the desert, they saw a large and rich city, on the other side of the Euphrates, " called *Carmande*."

‡ The name is written three different ways, in different MS. copies of the *Anabasis*: that is *Carmande*, *Charmande*, and *Charmanthe*. (Larcher.)

were very rare, perhaps the word *near* may not be altogether inapplicable. Moreover, Hit seems to have been designed by several different names: as *Is*, *Izzanesopolis*, *Ozo-gardana*, *Zaragardia*, and *Æiopolis*. Even in the march of Julian, which is so fully detailed, the name *Hit* is not mentioned, but appears to have been intended, by *Ozo-gardana* and *Zaragardia*, in Ammianus and Zosimus, respectively. In the former, *Ozo-gardana* is near the *Bitumen* fountains: implied to be those of Hit.*

To this city, the soldiers of Cyrus's army passed over the Euphrates on floats or rafts, supported by the skins of which their tents were made; and either stuffed with dry herbage or inflated with air. The same was afterwards practised at *Cænæ*, on the Tigris; and the same kind of embarkations are in use at the present day.† Individuals use a single skin for the conveyance of themselves and their wares across the rivers.

It was in the neighbourhood of Carmande, that a quarrel arose between the soldiers of Clearchus and Menon, which had nearly been productive of very serious consequences to

* Texeira, in his way from India to Europe, by land, speaks of the universal use of *bitumen* in the tract of *Babylonia*, in which it is produced in such plenty. He says, that the people call it *Quir*: that is meaning the Arabs, who certainly do call it *Keer* or *Geer*. Hence one cannot help suspecting that the term Geer or Keer has the same signification with the *Gar* or *Kar*, which enters into the composition of the above names; and which appears to refer to some circumstance common to them; very probably the bitumen fountains near Hit.

Abulfeda, however, in his Geography of Syria, calls the bitumen of the *Dead* sea, *Khommar*; and which may possibly have been the origin of the name *Gomorrah*.

† See a description of the floats used in the Tigris, in the Travels of M. Thevenot. Much the same system prevails there now, as in the time of Herodotus and Xenophon.

the affairs of Cyrus; on occasion of a personal insult offered to Clearchus. Menon, a Thessalian, was one of those dark characters, who set mischief a going, without appearing in it themselves. We find a sample of such men in all communities: it therefore becomes the duty of all communities to watch them; but this duty is too often neglected till too late. Menon always discovers himself by an officious zeal in matters that are *within the law;* but when there is a hazard of over-stepping it, he is only seen in the acts of others. The amiable Proxenus, the friend and patron of Xenophon, by his interposition arrested the progress of this tumult, which had a most threatening aspect; and Menon escaped this danger, to be a witness of the captivity and murder of his more worthy colleagues, by the king of Persia; and afterwards to suffer himself an ignominious death, from the hands of those whom he had benefitted by his treasons.

The treason of Orontas seems to have been detected a short time before they arrived at the *Pylæ*. For, a detachment of the enemy's horse were proceeding before them, burning the forage, and whatever else might be of use. And it was under the pretence of cutting off those horse, that Orontas meant to have deserted, with as many of Cyrus's as he could obtain from him.

On a cursory reading, it would appear as if some marches had been made, but omitted in the history, between the arrival of the army at the *Pylæ*, and the commencement of the 3 first marches through the country of *Babylon;* at the end of which three marches, the review of the whole army took place. (Lib. I. c. 30.) But on a close investigation, it will appear that after Xenophon has conducted his reader to the *Pylæ*, in the course

of the geographical detail, he goes back in order to relate the most remarkable events that had happened, since they left *Corsote*; which was the last point or resting place in his description. Thus, after the quarrel opposite to *Carmande*, he says, that as they were marching forward, they saw the tracks of the enemy's cavalry, &c.; and this naturally introduces the history of Orontas, which had an immediate connection with that body of cavalry. But the chain of distances, or line of march, is not resumed, till all the events that had passed, during the 13 marches between *Corsote* and the *Pylæ*, had been described. There are other instances of this mode of relating the events, particularly between *Opis* and the *Zabatus*: and indeed, it appears to be the clearest, as well as the most impressive method.

It may be remarked that Mr. Spelman as well as Dr. Forster, had the same idea with the author, respecting the *suite* of marches; as may be seen in the map of the one; and in the geographical dissertation of the other, page 311.

The grand review of Cyrus's whole army took place about midnight, after they had advanced three marches into the plain of *Babylonia*. Night was chosen, no doubt because of the violent heats of the day, in that climate, and at that season (beginning of September). Cyrus had expected that the king would give him battle next morning; although this event did not happen till three days afterwards. But he was then arrived in the neighbourhood of the great canals of communication between the Euphrates and Tigris; which, with proper attention, might have been employed with great advantage, in obstructing his march.

In this review the Greeks amounted to 12,800 men, of

which 10,400 were said to be *heavy armed;* or composing the *Phalanx.** Clearchus was appointed to command the right wing of the Greeks; Menon the left. The native troops of Cyrus amounted to 100,000: and this combined force, according to the text, was destined to combat with eight times its number; if it can be supposed that the 900,000 with the king were all fighting men. But whatsoever was wanting in numbers, was supposed to be amply supplied by the courage and discipline of the Greeks.

It cannot be doubted that the number given for the amount of the army of Cyrus, was meant to express that of the fighting men, alone: because that, if a number equal to the usual proportion of followers, in oriental armies (at least in these days) was to be deducted from 100,000 it would leave a force far too inconsiderable for probability. But whether the 900,000 of Artaxerxes, were all fighting men, may reasonably be doubted.

It is said, that the king, when in the centre of his own army, was *beyond* the [*left*] extremity of that of Cyrus. Now on a supposition that the mode of drawing up the armies, was the same in both, the centre of the king's army should have been at a prodigious distance (that is some miles) beyond the extremity of that of Cyrus; but the text does not warrant a belief that the king's post in the centre, was far beyond the flank of the other. (See Lib. I. c. 35 and 37.)

* The number of *heavy armed* here, differs very materially from the former part of the history; which gives no less than 12,100, instead of 10,400. The light-armed agree. The number at this review of 10,400 *heavy-armed*; and which might very probably have been reduced to about 10,000 after the massacre at the *Zabatus*; that is at the commencement of THE RETREAT; no doubt occasioned the term of the TEN THOUSAND; applied historically to this body of Greeks.

The reader is here presented with an authentic return of the numbers of fighting men, and of followers of every description, in a body of troops in the British service, sent across the continent of India, in 1778.* This small army consisted almost entirely of native troops, or sepoys, officered by Europeans, and with an attendant corps of artillery.

Fighting-men of every description -	6727
Followers - - - - -	19,779
	26,506
Ordu-Bazar, or *Camp-Market; estimated* at	12,000
	38,506

These numbers give in the gross, the proportion of $5\frac{3}{4}$ to each fighting man; but even the proportion taken on the followers of the army, *properly so called*, is as nearly as possible 3 to one.†

Now if the 900,000 be considered as the number of fighting men and of followers, collectively; and the same proportion of 3 to 1 be applied, the number of combatants of course will be 225,000; or about double the number of the troops of Cyrus: and admitting the same kind of order in both, the centre of the king's army would have been nearly opposite to the extremity of that of Cyrus; as the history seems to imply.‡

* Commanded by General Goddard.

† Perhaps this fact should be kept in mind, when the reputed numbers of Xerxes's army are considered. The text would then appear more probable.

‡ Here it may be remarked, that the army of Abrocomas, from *Cilicia*, did not join the king till some days after the battle; (Lib. I. c. 32,) and that the *Median* and *Susian*

After the review, and at day-light, some deserters from the king's army arrived; but they seem either to have given false intelligence, or he must have halted by the way: for Cyrus marched that day, in order of battle, in the expectation of fighting, yet saw no enemy; any more than on the next, when he passed the canals of communication, between the two rivers; as he had previously done, a trench of 30 feet in breadth, and 18 deep; but left unfinished, for the last 20 feet, towards the Euphrates; and through this pass, Cyrus marched. He also found the bridges standing, over the four navigable canals: all which manifests a great degree of negligence, or of confidence, on the part of the king.*

At length, on the second march from the canals, and when they were on the point of fixing their camp, the king's army suddenly appeared, and occasioned some confusion. They were then about 4 ordinary marches from Babylon.

Xenophon's description of the approach of the Persian army under ARTAXERXES MNEMON, against his brother CYRUS, will bear, at least, to be once more repeated. (Lib. I. c. 35.)

"In the afternoon there appeared a dust, like a white cloud, "which, not long after, spread itself like a darkness over "the plain: when they drew nearer, immediately the

armies, did not arrive before the Greeks came to *Opis*, more than a month after the battle. (Lib. I. c. 13.) So that a great part of the Persian force was not present, at the battle of *Cunaxa*. See the remark of Xenophon, Lib. I. c. 24.

* Diodorus (Lib. xiv. c. 5.) says, that the king drew a trench to cover the baggage and the sick; and then set off to encounter Cyrus. Possibly this may explain the matter of the *deserted* trench, which Cyrus passed within: this might have been at first intended for the above purpose; but afterwards finding it too far advanced towards the enemy, they constructed the one spoken of by Diodorus, in a more retired situation.

" brazen armour flashed, and their spears and ranks ap-
" peared.*

The battle of *Cunaxa* appears to have been lost, through the error of Clearchus, in not following the counsel; or rather, in not *obeying* the orders of Cyrus, to bring up his men against the centre of the enemy, in which the king was posted: for, says he, " if we break *that*, our work is done." Now the king had such a superiority in numbers, that (as it has been observed before), when he stood in the centre of his own army, he was beyond the left wing of that of Cyrus: and Clearchus, fearing to be surrounded, could not be prevailed on, to withdraw his *right* from the river. Hence arose the principal mischief: and next to that, was the dispersion of the cavalry of Cyrus, in pursuit of that of the king. In order to understand how any attack could be made on the king's post, after the above statement of the disposition of the two armies, it is necessary to mention, that the king, finding that no one opposed him in front, wheeled to the *left*, in order to surround Cyrus's army. It was then that Cyrus advanced to attack the king, broke and dispersed the strong body of choice cavalry which attended him; but in the pursuit was himself left almost unattended, and in a rash and furious attack on the king, was slain by an obscure individual!

But in effect, Cyrus may be said to have fallen a martyr to Clearchus's punctilios of European discipline; and want of knowledge of oriental warfare. Had he combated with a

* —" sur les trois heures, on apperçut une poussiere semblable à un nuage blanc,
" qui sé repandit bientôt après sur toute la plaine, et la couvrit de son obscurité. Quand
" ils furent plus près, les yeux furent frappés de l'éclat de leurs armes de bronze, et l'on
" distingua les rangs et les piques." (M. Larcher, Vol. I. p. 76.)

superior force of his own countrymen, he would have acted wisely, in keeping his flank covered: but the sequel proves, that the Great King would not venture to engage with the Greeks *alone*, even after the native army of Cyrus had left the field. We infer, therefore, that had Clearchus followed the advice of Cyrus, at the beginning of the action, and brought his forces opposite to the centre of the king's army, the event would have been totally different. No one can doubt, but that victory would have attended the steps of the Greeks; and a victory in the centre, would either have placed the king in the power of Cyrus, or driven him out of the field.*

That part of the enemy's line, which was opposed to the Greeks, was defeated, and pursued; but do we find that the enemy attacked the *left* wing of the Greeks, because they had exposed it, by separating from their own line, in the pursuit? And doubtless, had the enemy's line been broken in the centre, its remains, so far from attacking either of the Grecian flanks, would have fled outright, on the loss or discomfiture of their king, and his party. Cyrus was unfortunate in not being able to impress this idea on the mind of the Grecian general; but he was clearly aware of what ought to have been done: and perhaps would not appear to slight his own native troops, by separating himself from them. Why were not the Greeks posted originally in the centre of Cyrus's army; since he was aware that the king would be found in the centre of his own army; and then brought up, as of course, against him?

* But we should then have been without the ANABASIS, the choicest piece of ancient Military History; and fairly worth the history of all the Persian dynasties, since that period.

The small bodies of European troops, which encounter such great bodies of Asiatics, ensure victory more by *appearing* to despise the enemy, than by measures of caution. Their principle of attack, even, differs from that in European warfare: for as they cannot present any proportion of front to the enemy's line, they direct their attacks against a part of it; and by defeating those whom they oppose, terrify and confound the rest; who generally quit the field. And on any other system than this, against such disproportionate numbers, the fleets of Europe would be unequal to the task of wafting a sufficient number of combatants to the shores of Asia.

However, the general ability of the Greek commanders, is most strikingly displayed, in their conduct after they learnt the result of the battle; and until the fatal day when the arts of Tissaphernes triumphed over the credulity of Clearchus, and certain of his colleagues. Their firmness during the negociation for the truce; and their caution in encamping separately from the Persians afterwards; are proofs of it. Ignorant of the geography and nature of every part of the country except the desert track by which they came; and which their experience would teach them, was the last, by which they ought to retreat; deserted by, or deprived of, their friends, who possessed the requisite knowledge; and surrounded by powerful enemies, whose affected friendship was more deadly than their hatred; they had a choice of difficulties to encounter. Their enemies, however, by leading them towards the *Carduchian* mountains, in order to render their retreat, as they thought, more difficult, conferred a benefit which they did not intend: for although in the Carduchian mountains, the Greeks found an enemy whose attacks were more fierce, close, and

persevering; yet they had an earlier escape from them, than they could have had from the Persians, had they continued in the plains: and at the same time, the mountainous barrier, threw the Persians, of which so great a proportion were cavalry, entirely out of action; both immediately and eventually. Here then, the words of Xenophon were peculiarly applicable; for whatsoever may have been the original scheme, "FORTUNE PROVED A MORE GLORIOUS CONDUCTOR"! (Lib. II. c. 7.)

The state of the country of Babylonia appears to have been highly flourishing, at this period. Well cultivated, and abounding in villages and palm trees; and the canals and bridges in good order: but cities or large towns, seldom occurring. At present, all this fine tract is deserted: the canals choaked up, and rendered useless, either for the purpose of navigation, or of irrigation, or even to drain the lands, when too copiously inundated.*

The groves of palm trees, which abounded here, in the times of Xenophon and of Julian, have also disappeared with the villages; and are only to be found in and about the principal towns; excepting in a few instances, where they mark the site of a place, not long deserted. Ammianus, speaking of the time of Julian's expedition, (in which he served), says, Lib. xxiv. that the date groves filled the whole country from *Mesene*† to

* Texeira, in 1605, observes that this was the state of the country: the canals half filled up; and the extensive plains, that had supported a numerous population, were become an unproductive desert.

† The MESENE here intended appears to be the great island, formed by the separation of the branches of the *Tigris*, between Samarra and Baghdad.

There was another tract of the same name between the ancient course of the Euphrates, and the modern course of the Euphrates and Tigris, united; adjoining to the Persian Gulf.

the sea; and that, which way soever a person turned, he saw palm trees with dates hanging on them: a certain proof of a populous country. Indeed palm trees are every where a sign of population. Baghdad is so full of them, that at a distance it is said to look like a forest of palms, with minarets interspersed.

Xenophon, in more than one place, in *Babylonia*, saw what he calls *palm wine*. Speaking of the villages in which they were quartered, after the truce, he says: "Here we found "wine, made of the *fruit* of the palm tree; and also vinegar, "drawn by boiling, from the same fruit.—Some of these they "dried for sweetmeats.—The wine that was made of this "fruit, was sweet to the taste; but apt to give the head-ake: "here also the soldiers eat, for the first time, the *pith* of the "palm tree; and many admired both the *figure*, and the pecu-"liar sweetness of it.* This also occasioned violent head-"akes." (Lib. II. c. 10.)

Ammianus also says that *wine*, as well as *honey*, is made from the fruit: and that the army of Julian, fed on the produce of the palm trees; which was in great abundance.† And lastly,

* This substance, whose name in the original is *the brain of the palm*, is by Spelman and Larcher, respectively, translated *pith* and *moëlle*. By modern travellers it is called the *cabbage* of the palm; it "is composed of the rudiments of the future leaves of the "palm tree, enveloped in the bases, or footstalks of the actual leaves; which enclose them as a tight box or trunk would do."* It forms a mass of convolutions, exquisitely beautiful and delicate; and wonderful to appearance, when unfolded. It is also exceedingly delicate to the taste. Xenophon has justly remarked, that the trees from whence it was taken, withered.

† Julian's campaign in *Babylonia*, was in May and June; and of course long before the *ripening* of the dates. The wine and dates therefore, must have been those of the preceding season.

* Sir Joseph Banks.

Herodotus says, (Clio, c. 193,) that the palm produces to the inhabitants of Babylonia, *bread*, *wine*, and *honey*. The wine must have been in great plenty: for he says that the boats which descended the Tigris, from Armenia, some of which were large, had palm wine for the principal article of their commerce. Much the same idea is given by Xenophon, when he speaks of the floats that passed the Euphrates at *Carmande*, and the Tigris at *Cænæ*.

It has but very recently come to the knowledge of the author, (or indeed of people in general, in this country), what is intended above, by *palm wine*. It was thought to be toddy, a juice drawn from various kinds of palms, by cutting off the branch intended by nature to produce fruit, and receiving from the wounded branch the sap which was intended for the nourishment of the future crop. But as toddy, although sweetish, when first drawn, is in a fermentation in the course of 24 hours, and then becomes sour and harsh, this could not have been the palm wine intended; which must have *kept* for some time, as it was carried on the rivers, during voyages of many days, and even appears to have been stored up.*

The Travels of M. Burckhardt in *Nuba*† (Nubia), in 1813, have unravelled this mystery; and at the same time the probable cause of our ignorance concerning the subject. For the practice is discontinued in the countries above-mentioned; that is, *Mesopotamia* and *Babylonia*, where the date trees abounded,

* Toddy is used with molasses, rice, and other ingredients, in the distillation of arrack. The Toddy of the date tree is said to be of an inferior quality to that from some other kinds of palm.

† *Nuba*, it appears, is the present (and probably the ancient) name of the country which we call *Nubia*.

and where the profusion of fruit rendered wine so plentiful; because in modern times, the want of a proper distribution of water for irrigation, has left only a small proportion of date trees; and it is probable that none of the fruit can be spared from the necessary demand for food. Kæmpfer, it appears, is silent on the subject of palm wine; than which circumstance, nothing could more satisfactorily prove, the disuse of the practice of making it in those countries.

The following is M. Burckhardt's account of the palm wine, &c.

—" In all the larger villages of Nubia, the use of *palm wine* is very common: and at *Derr*,* a vast deal of spirit is consumed. The wine does not taste amiss; but it is too rich, and too thick, to be drank with pleasure.

" When the date fruit has arrived at its full maturity, it is thrown into large earthen boilers, and left to boil, without interruption, for 2 or 3 days. It is then strained, and the clear juice put into earthen jars, which are well shut up, and then buried in the ground; where it ferments. It is left 10 or 12 days under ground; at the expiration of which time, it is fit to drink. It keeps a twelvemonth, and then turns sour."

" The *aqua-vitæ* made from dates, is of a very good quality; and keeps well for years."

" The upper classes of people at Derr, are every evening intoxicated, either with date wine or spirits; of which, large quantities are consumed. They are sold openly. From *Siout*, southward, all through upper Ægypt, *date spirits* are made, and publicly sold; the Pasha receiving a tax on it, from the inn-keepers."

* Derr is the reputed capital of the country of Nuba or Nubia.

"There is also made from the dates, a kind of *jelly*, or *honey*; which serves the rich people for a sweetmeat."

Thus we are indebted to M. Burckhardt for the solution of a problem, which had long perplexed the readers of those ancient authors, who describe palm wine as an article of commerce, conveyed to a distance; and which does not, of course, suit the description of *toddy*; although it was referred to *that*, because nothing else occurred, that could be taken for it.*

There is a kind of honey or syrup made from the date *tree*; (not the *fruit*), in Barbary, which is very satisfactorily described by Dr. Shaw, in his Travels in Barbary (page 225).

The Doctor says, that it is usual with persons of the best fashion, to entertain their guests on very extraordinary occasions, with *the honey of the date tree*. This, says he, "they procure by cutting off the head of one of the most vigorous "kinds; and scooping the top of the trunk into the shape of "a bason. When the sap ascends, it lodges in this cavity, "during the first week or fortnight, at the rate of *three quarts*, "or *a gallon*, a day: after which, the quantity daily diminishes, "and at the end of six weeks or two months, the juices are "entirely consumed, and the tree becomes dry, serving only "for firewood, or timber. This liquor, which has a more "luscious sweetness than honey, is of the consistence of a thin "syrup, but quickly grows tart and ropy, acquiring an intoxicating quality; and giving by distillation, an agreeable spirit, "steam, or arâky; according to the general name of these "people, for all hot and strong liquors, extracted by the "alembick."†

* Toddy has also an intoxicating quality, after its fermentation.

† Herodotus had *heard* that the *Zygantes*, (a tribe seated in Barbary, in the quarter

With respect to the honey mentioned by M. Burckhardt, as being made from the *date fruit*, it may be very doubtful whether it be the same with that described by Dr. Shaw, as made from the *tree*. As the operation described by the Doctor, costs each time one of the most vigorous of the palms, (and which loss cannot be retrieved in that generation); and being only practised "*on very extraordinary occasions*," one may suspect that it is not the same kind of honey, with that mentioned by Herodotus and Ammianus in *Babylonia;* or by M. Burckhardt in *Nubia:* and that there is one kind of it made from the date *fruit*.

between Tunis and Tripoli), "besides the *honey* collected from their *bees, made* a great "deal more." (Melpom. c. 194.)

*** Omitted in page 110, after the first paragraph:

It may be added, that M. Larcher's Translation, after describing the quarrel, at *Carmande*, (Lib. I. c. 25.) has this passage, "après quoi l'on partit." This is omitted in Mr. Spelman's translation.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM SITACE TO THE ZABATUS.

Opis *a doubtful position, in Geography, but referred to the site of the present* Akbara—*A Remark by* Xenophon, *respecting the Military State and Strength, of* Ancient Persia—*Villages of* Parysatis—Cænæ *supposed to be the present* Senn—*Deserts of* Media—*The Greeks arrive at the river* Zabatus *or Zab—Conduct of the Persian Chiefs, in respect of the choice of route, &c.—The Greeks could have returned to* Iönia *only by the* north—*Insidious conduct of the Persians, on the way—Great credulity of* Clearchus, *the immediate cause of the Massacre of the Grecian Generals—The Persians neglect to seize on the advantages offered, by the occasion—*Distress *of the Grecian Army, at the* Zabatus—Confidence *restored by the new Generals; and particularly by* Xenophon—*The auxiliary Grecian force, had not been formed by* Cyrus, *into one general command; but existed in separate, and independent bodies.*

After crossing the Tigris at *Sitace*, 15 marches brought the Greeks to the river *Zabatus;* at, or near, its conflux with the Tigris; which takes place at about 42 G. miles below the present Mosul. In their way, they passed, successively, the

cities of *Opis* and *Cænæ*. Xenophon names this tract, MEDIA; but Arrian and others, with more propriety, call it ASSYRIA: for Media extended no farther westward than mount *Zagros*.

Opis is a position of considerable importance in ancient geography: yet the notices concerning it, are too scanty, to admit of its being placed with any kind of precision, or confidence; for although Strabo, Pliny, and Arrian, all place it at the Tigris, and in the quarter towards *Sittacene*, it is without any specification of positive, or even relative, situation. There is scarcely a position that floats more in uncertainty, in the works of geographers: and what is singular, the origin and course of the river *(Physcus)* that flowed past it, is equally problematical. It is to the march of Xenophon alone, that we are indebted, for what is known concerning its position.

He conducts the Greeks to it, in 4 marches (20 parasangas) from *Sitace*. So that, in order to place Opis at all, the position of the former, is first to be admitted. (See above, page 81, *et seq.*) It was also 7 marches short of *Cænæ*, at the Tigris, taken for the Senn of the Arabian and Persian geographers, 36 Arabic miles below Haditha, at the conflux of the greater Zab, with the Tigris; which conflux is about 42 miles below Mosul. According to these notices, Opis should have stood at 34 miles or more, above the site of Baghdad; or about 44 above *Sitace*.

The identity of the *Zabatus*, with the present greater Zab, cannot be questioned. In the first place, had the lesser Zab been the *Zabatus*, the Greeks would have come to the greater Zab on the 5th march of their retreat, when they were harassed by Tissaphernes; and under such circumstances, the

crossing of a river of 300 feet in breadth, and also deep, could not have been omitted by Xenophon. Moreover, the number of marches, from the Zabatus to the *Carduchian* mountains, will only suit the greater Zab: and more particularly, the ridge of hills near Zaco, on which the battle was fought on the 10th day of the march; and which affords a remarkable point of comparison; will agree only to the greater Zab.*

* It will be proper to state the particulars of the distance, along the Tigris between Modaïn (that is the two cities of *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon*) which is not far *below* the supposed site of *Sitace*, and Jezirah, which is not far *below* the supposed place of ascent of the *Carduchian* mountains; together with the general bearing, between the extreme points of Modaïn, and the place of ascent. The reader will then be enabled to comprehend at once, the foundation of the geographical construction, of this part.

Baghdad is by observation in latitude	33° 20′
Mosul - - -	36 21

Mosul, according to M. Niebuhr's line, is at 1° 17′ to the west of the meridian of Baghdad, whence the general bearing between them, will be about N. 19° W. and S. 19° E.

Then Modaïn is 19 G. miles to the S. E. of Baghdad; and the site of *Sitace* about 11.

Jezirah, according to the result of the combined authorities of Messrs. Sullivan, &c. lies about 72 G. miles to the N. W. of Mosul. And from Jezirah, the place of ascent is taken at 11 G. miles, in the direction of N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.

Distances between Modaïn and the Mountains:

From Modaïn to Baghdad - - - -	19 G. Miles.
Baghdad to Akbara - - - -	$32\frac{1}{2}$
Akbara to Samarra - - - -	34
Samarra to Senn (conflux lesser Zab) - -	$45\frac{1}{2}$
Senn to Haditha (conflux greater Zab) - -	38
Mosul - - - - - -	42
Jezirah - - - - - -	72
To the place of Ascent - - - -	11

The numbers shew the distance, on the construction. The Arabian geographers reckon 61 farsangs between *Bagbdad* and *Mosul*, equal to about 194 G. miles: and on the construction, about 192 are found.

As, therefore, the greater Zab, alone, can be taken for the *Zabatus* of Xenophon; so, according to the history, OPIS, taken at 20 parasangas above *Sitace;* and 50 below the conflux of the Zabatus with the Tigris,* can have stood in no other position, (taken generally), than about 34 G. miles in *direct* distance above the site of Baghdad; near which position, during the caliphate, stood a city of note, named Akbara, or Okbara. It may be added, that if Senn be the same with the *Cænæ* of Xenophon, 7 marches,† or 74 G. miles above *Opis*, this will also have a *general* agreement with Akbara; which is short of 80 miles below Senn.

Xenophon describes the country beyond *Opis*, northward, to be the *desert* part of *Media;* which is a circumstance in favour of the position in question: for even in the present times, under the wretched government of the Turks, the country to the extent of 30 miles to the northward of Baghdad, is one of the most fertile imaginable; being alluvial, and well watered, by canals from the lesser Deäla river; but beyond that, a desert, according to M. Niebuhr.

Opis stood on the river *Physcus*, 100 feet in breadth, and near its conflux with the Tigris; for though Xenophon is silent respecting the Tigris, other authors connect it with *Opis:* for example, Alexander sailed up the *Tigris*, to *Opis*. The information is so defective concerning the tract adjacent to the eastern bank of the Tigris, in that quarter; that we know not even the place, where the river crossed by Abdulkurreem, and by Abu Taleb, in their way from Dokhala to Samarra, joins the Tigris *That* may have been the river of *Opis:* but it

* Anabasis, Lib. II. c. 18. † *Ibid.*

may also have been a branch of the lesser Deällah, or a canal from it.*

Had the position of *Opis* been left at large, without any regard to its distance from any other place, one would have fixed on *Dokhala* for its site. There, a river, answering to the description of the *Physcus*, is known to join the Tigris; that is, the *lesser* Deällah, (said to be a branch of the *greater;*) and it lies in the direct road from *Media* to *Babylon*, by the *upper* road. But then, *Sitace* must have stood at a considerable distance lower down the Tigris, than the *site* of *Seleucia;* the distance of 20 parasangas, requiring it: and this seems a very improbable situation for *Sitace*.†

It was at *Opis*, that the Greeks met a large Persian army, coming from *Susa* and *Ecbatana* to the assistance of the king.

There also, Alexander landed, after his expedition up the Tigris, from *Susa;* and proceeded from thence towards *Ecbatana*. But both of these circumstances may be satisfactorily accounted for, without supposing that *Opis* lay in the direct road from Babylon to Ecbatana. Alexander's errand up the Tigris, is said to have been, to demolish the wears and obstructions to the navigation: therefore he went as high up the river, as was necessary for his purpose; without any regard to the road to *Ecbatana*. And with respect to the Persian army, coming from thence, it might either have been directed to join Tissaphernes at *Opis*, (as it will appear that it was intended to join him), or may have come that way merely

* The river mentioned by Abdulkurreem, occurred at 6 hours short of Samarra, when on his way from Baghdad, in 1741. Abu Taleb also crossed a river in about that situation.

† It must not be omitted, that Mr. Jackson, in 1797, saw a caravanserai, named *Hope*, at the distance of a very few miles up the river Dokhala. (Page 113.)

through convenience. And indeed, Akbara, the supposed site of *Opis*, is not more than a good day's march, out of the direct road from *Ecbatana* to *Babylon*.

Opis was a large and populous city, in the time of Xenophon. Strabo describes it as the *emporium* of the places round about: but whether he spoke of his own times, or of an earlier period, we know not. It was no doubt, a place of consideration, in the time of Alexander.

The circumstance of meeting a Persian army at *Opis*, together with the length of its march, and destination, illustrates a remark of Xenophon's, (in Lib. I. c. 24.) respecting the military state of the Persian empire. "It was obvious (says "he) to any person of attention, that the Persian empire, "though strong with regard to the extent of the country, and "numbers of men, was however weak, by reason of the great "distance of places, and the division of its forces, when surprised by a sudden invasion." It was now about 35 days since the battle: but even that, is but a short space, in comparison of the length of warning, which the king had received from Tissaphernes.

From *Opis*, the Greeks made 6 marches (30 parasangas) through the desert part of Media; and arrived at some villages belonging to Parysatis, the mother of Cyrus and of Artaxerxes. "These," says the historian, "Tissaphernes, to "insult the memory of Cyrus, gave the Greeks leave to "plunder of every thing but slaves."* And from thence, 5 marches (20 parasangas), through a desert, with the Tigris

* It may be remarked that here, as well as in some other places, the Greeks were always ready to plunder, when authorised; or when they thought they had an excuse for it.

on their left, brought them to the *Zabatus:* in all 15 marches from *Sitace.**

Cænæ, said to be a large and rich city, lay on the opposite, or western side of the Tigris, at 4 marches *short* of the *Zabatus*. From this place the inhabitants transported provisions across to the camp, on rafts, supported by inflated skins. Wine is enumerated amongst the articles of provisions here; as well as at *Carmande* and other places. *Cænæ* has already been spoken of, as the *Senn* of the oriental geographers; which is situated opposite to the conflux of the lesser Zab with the Tigris. Xenophon has not mentioned this river, as it probably occasioned no difficulty or delay. It is the *Caprus;* as the greater Zab is the *Lycus*, of ancient geography.

It appears then, that the first six marches from Opis, *through the desert part of Media;* and the next five, also through a desert country, which brought them to the *Zabatus*,† will agree very well with the descriptions of the country by modern travellers; the position of *Opis* as given in the preceding pages, being admitted. For M. Niebuhr found the whole country a desert, from the Korfa hills (near which, *Opis* is supposed to have stood) to the neighbourhood of Dakook; which is opposite to Senn, or *Cænæ*. And the banks of the Tigris, as well as the country to a considerable extent, within them, is described by M. Thevenot and others, to be extremely rough, hilly, and wild; and much infested with lions, between the two Zabs: and even *above* the conflux of the greater Zab, or *Zabatus*, to a considerable distance.‡ These tracts then, are the

* Lib. II. c. 18 and 19. † Lib. II. c. 18.

‡ See the Travels of M. Thevenot, Part II. Chapter 13.

deserts, through which Tissaphernes led the Greeks; departing from the great road, which lay considerably to the eastward.

The Tigris is not mentioned in the first 6 marches: and it appears probable that they crossed the Hamrun ridge of hills,* opposite to Samarra; and did not meet the Tigris again, till they came opposite to *Cænæ*. And it is particularly remarked, that during the last 5 marches, which brought them to the *Zabatus*, they *had* the Tigris on their left. The account is given in so general a manner, that we are not to expect, strictly, that the *whole* of the six days, thrown together in one line of march, should have been wide of the river; or in the other case, that all the five should have kept to its bank. General notices alone, are to be expected; and here they are found to accord.

Here it may be proper to say a word concerning the conduct of the Persian chiefs; and to enquire what part of it, may have been rendered unavoidably necessary; even had they been sincere in their intentions of performing the articles of the truce: for it is possible that they may have been blamed for every act, indiscriminately.

The nature and position of the vast deserts, that shut up both sides of the Euphrates, in the vicinity of *Babylonia*, have been already spoken of, in the course of the work: that on the south and west, extending into the peninsula of Arabia; and that to the north, occupying the whole breadth of Mesopotamia, below the river Khabour; (the Araxes of Xenophon). The reader, therefore, will be aware, that provisions and

* This is a low chain of rugged hills which extends from the *Arabian Desert* to *Susiana*.

forage for an army of more than 12,000 men, with their appointments; together with an army of observation to attend them; (for it can in no wise be supposed that such a body could be allowed to return, unwatched;) could not possibly be procured on any of the routes that led to the westward, or north-westward from *Babylonia*. Moreover, the army of Cyrus had recently consumed or destroyed, all that lay in the line of the Euphrates. Had the Greeks even been allowed to retire at their discretion, from the truce or provision villages, it could only have been by the *north*, that they could, at any rate, have existed, on their return homewards: first passing the Tigris to the eastward; and after tracing the great road through *Assyria*, by *Arbela*, &c. recrossing the Tigris, in the quarter of ancient *Nineveh*. There they would have entered, what was at that time, a populous district of *Mesopotamia* (although now, absolutely deserted); and thence would have passed through *Asia Minor* to *Iönia*. But such a space, which required *three months of continual marching*, only seems practicable in the event of Cyrus's having been successful; and sending home his Grecian auxiliaries, as friends. But in the quality of enemies, could the most sanguine amongst the Greeks expect that they could have made their way from the heart of the Persian empire, to its western extremity?

The terms of the truce were, that the king should "conduct "them without guile, into Greece; providing a market for "them; or in failure thereof, the Greeks were to supply themselves with provisions: but in both cases to pay for what "they had."

It could be satisfactorily proved, that even the Persians themselves, could not conduct the Greeks home any way but

by the *north:* or perhaps even without carrying them beyond the Tigris, in *some* part of the route: but there was no need *to go round* by *Sitace*, when they could have gone directly to the neighbourhood of *Opis*, or Samarra; and have easily crossed the Tigris, at any point, with the facilities possessed by the Persian government. If it be urged, that the accommodation of the permanent bridge at *Sitace*, was the inducement, to go round, there was yet no necessity for halting 20 or more days before they began their march: or to lead them through the desert tract between the two Zabs.

But the delays of every kind were evidently contrived to gain time, to assemble choice troops from the different quarters of the empire. One army, as the reader has seen, only arrived at *Opis*, from *Media*, on the day the Greeks passed through it.

There appears to have been a treacherous design in marching them through the desert tract, along the Tigris, between the two Zabs. For the proper road, to the north, from *Babylonia*, lay 30 miles or more, inland from the Tigris: and passed through a well inhabited country, by *Arbela*. Alexander came by this route; as well as all the modern travellers: whilst those who descend the Tigris, are made sensible of the wild and impracticable nature of the country through which it flows; particularly on the eastern side.*

Through this wild and inhospitable tract however, the Greeks were conducted to the *Zabatus*, near the place where it joins the Tigris. Besides the difficulties arising from the nature of the country, and the peculiarity of their situation, which led the individuals of the respective armies into perpetual

* See M. Thevenot's Travels, Part II. Chapter 13.

quarrels, they had an insurmountable barrier in the Tigris, a deep, wide, and rapid river; had they been inclined or necessitated to escape that way; and in front, the Zabatus, also a large river.

It was then, in this very critical situation, that the enemy, by proceeding to treacherous, and sudden hostility, plunged the Greeks into the greatest peril, and the deepest distresses, by the assassination of their principal officers. They must have supposed, that the general confusion that would arise from the want of proper officers, would produce inaction, until they were subdued; either by the power of numbers, or by hunger, in so desolate a situation.

This line of route was perhaps fixed on, at the outset, with a view to their destruction: and it may be concluded, that the Persians were constantly lying in wait to strike a blow: but that till this time, they were baffled in the attempt, by the countenance and by the vigilance of the Greeks; who perhaps escaped snares, of which they themselves were unconscious.

It appears, moreover, that Tissaphernes originally designed to lead the Greeks amongst the northern mountains; for during the conference between him and the Greek generals at the *Zabatus*, before the massacre, he speaks of the "mountains within their sight, over which *the road lies*;" &c.* Now it is certain that he pretended to escort them towards Lydia and Sardis; and had no occasion to cross any of the chains of mountains, that were in sight from the *Zabatus*; if he meant to conduct them fairly: for their route through *Assyria*, lay to the south of *Taurus*, and its several branches.

* Lib. II. c. 21.

It is probable that Tissaphernes meant the ridge of Zaco, where he afterwards attacked them, on the 10th march from the *Zabatus;* and placed them in so perilous a situation.

Upon the whole, it may be supposed, that the Persians concluded the truce, originally, because at the moment, they not only stood in awe of the Greeks, but also thought they could better accomplish their destruction, by fraud and delusion, than by open and immediate hostility. That they afterwards planned their schemes so, that if they might not be able to accomplish their destruction, they might perform their engagements in the mode the most convenient to themselves: but that they never lost sight of the hope, any more than of the means, of destroying them: and for this purpose made use of every wile, to create delay at the commencement; to lead them into hazardous situations, on the march; to ensnare their prudence; and to tamper with the wavering, or treacherous, amongst them. No trait of virtue, honour, generosity, feeling, or even of admiration of their conduct, is shewn: but all is empty profession, and deep dissimulation, in order to conceal dark and murderous designs. Such were the Persian chiefs of Xenophon's days.*

The history of the conference between the Grecian generals

* The Persians of the time of CYRUS the Great (about a century and a half before the date of these transactions) are represented by Xenophon, in the *Cyropædia,* to be of a very different character: since a main part of their education is said to have consisted in learning how to practise justice; and to speak the truth. Were those the real manners of the times, or did Xenophon take too much upon trust? Yet 150 years may doubtless very much change the manners of a nation; more especially when that nation had conquered all those round it, and was grown rich and luxurious.

The Persians of the present times do not seem to be much better, than those of the days of Xenophon.

and Tissaphernes, which led to the massacre of the former, by Clearchus's falling into the snare so artfully laid for him, is related very circumstantially and clearly, by Xenophon.* By that, it appears, that the credulity of Clearchus, was beyond all example: and is the more remarkable, in that he was himself so deeply impressed with the idea of mutual jealousies and suspicions, that he sought an explanation. But Clearchus had in his turn, been guilty of treachery and murder, at *Byzantium*, much in the same kind of way; and like other murderers, was perhaps bereft of his judgment and presence of mind: and thus drew down a just punishment on himself.

The treacherous massacre of the Greek generals and other officers; together with the consequent and sudden hostility at the *Zabatus;* might have effected the entire destruction of their army, had they not been accustomed to encamp apart from the Persians, at the distance of a parasanga: which cautious measure appears to have been adopted from the beginning. This gave the Greeks time to stand to their arms, before the Persians could attack them; and as villainy seldom sees its way clear enough, to accomplish its utmost designs, the Persians do not seem to have taken such advantages, as the occasion offered. Had they kept the main body of their cavalry ready to attack the Grecian camp, at the instant of the massacre, instead of sending a detachment only, to scour the plain, and cut off stragglers, irreparable mischief might have been done. For it may be perceived, that the Greeks found themselves in an awkward situation, when the messenger brought the intelligence of the sudden approach of the king's army, at *Cunaxa*: which seems to shew that the Greeks required a considerable

* Lib. II. c. 19, *et seq.*

time to prepare for, and to arrange their order of battle: and on the present occasion, the persons from whom the orders should have proceeded, were taken away. Therefore, the distress of the Greeks was very great; and it chiefly arose from the absence of those officers; 25 in number: for of the ranks, 200 only, with some stragglers on the plain, were massacred. Amongst those officers, were the generals highest in command; and moreover, those who had raised a principal part of the men, of which the auxiliary force consisted: so that those soldiers had lost, not only their *commanders*, but also their *patrons;* to whom they looked for immediate protection: instances of which patronage appear, in the course of the history.*

But in respect of discipline and resources, the loss appears to have been fully supplied, in the sequel. The whole course of events sanctions their choice of new generals: and with respect to the other officers, little doubt can arise, that among any disciplined body of 12,000 men; twenty persons qualified to supply the places of as many officers, under the rank of commanders of corps, would be found. For, it is stated, that these troops had been long inured to war, in other expeditions: and it must be recollected that the *Peloponnesian* war was but lately terminated.

According to Xenophon, (Lib. III. c. 1.) the Grecian army, on the evening which succeeded the massacre of their officers, were in great distress. "They considered, that they were "surrounded on all sides, with many nations and many cities, "all their enemies: that no one would any longer supply

* For example, in the quarrel between the soldiers of Menon and Clearchus. (Lib. I. c. 25.)

" them with provisions: that they were distant from Greece
" above 10,000 stadia,* without a guide to conduct them; and
" their road thither intercepted by impassable rivers. That
" even those *barbarians*, who had served under Cyrus, had
" betrayed them, and that they were now left alone without
" any horse to assist them. By which it was evident, that if
" they overcame the enemy, they could not destroy a man of
" them in the pursuit, and if they themselves were overcome,
" not a man of them could escape. These reflections so dis-
" heartened them, that few ate any thing that evening; few
" made fires; and many that night, never came to their quar-
" ters; but laid themselves down, every man in the place
" where he happened to be; unable to sleep, through sorrow,
" and a longing for their country, their parents, their wives
" and children, whom they never expected to see again."—
It may be supposed that this despondency was general amongst the officers, as well as the soldiers: they being accustomed to look higher, than to themselves, for confidence and resources.

Xenophon was the soul that re-animated this body of Greeks: and perhaps, eloquence was never employed with more effect, than in his speeches to the army, on occasion of electing new generals. He saw that they had " nothing be-
" fore their eyes but sufferings; and required that their

* This number, which at first sight one concludes to be extremely vague, does really approach to the number of stades that they were distant from Ephesus, (the point at which Xenophon's reckoning of the distance commences,) by the nearest route from the *Zabatus*; and allowing for the usual inflexions of the road. It might be about one-thousand English miles. Although the distance *marched* from Ephesus to the field of battle, was more than 16,000 stades, yet much of the distance was consumed by counter marches and circuitous routes, to accomplish particular purposes.

" thoughts should be turned to action." He adduces every argument that could reconcile them to their present situation, or encourage them to persevere, in hopes of improving it.*

Although Xenophon says (Lib. II. c. 5.) that " Clearchus " *alone*, was equal to the command (of the army), the rest " being without experience;" yet this, it may be conceived, does not apply to the technical part of the military command, so much as to that which comprised the duty of a statesman, in the use and employment of the army in future: and in the care of its general interests. He was to represent the STATE, as well as the Military COMMANDER.

The auxiliary Grecian force of Cyrus, had not been formed into one general command, but was considered as a number of separate corps, in common with the other troops, which composed the army at large: so that Cheirisophus, Proxenus, Menon, &c. were altogether independent of Clearchus; and of each other. But after the death of Cyrus, the auxiliary force becoming a separate army, a commander in chief became necessary; and Clearchus, as we find, was submitted to, by tacit and universal consent (Lib. II. c. 5.); " not as being elected,

* The whole of his speech on this occasion, (Lib. III. c. 12,) is worth attention; but more particularly the manner in which he states to the soldiery the advantages which infantry have over cavalry: which is done with great address, as the most formidable arm of the enemy's force consisted of cavalry.

" If (says he) any of you are disheartened because we have no horse, in which the " enemy abound, let them consider that ten thousand horse are no more than ten thou- " sand men; for no one was ever killed in an action by the bite or kick of a horse. " The men do every thing that is done in battle. But further, we are steadier upon " the ground than they on horseback; for they, hanging upon their horses, are afraid " not only of us, but also of falling; whilst we, standing firmly upon the ground, strike " those who approach us, with greater force and a surer aim. The horse have but one " advantage over us, they can fly with greater security."

" but because they were sensible that he, alone, was equal to " the command." The same idea of superior merit, appears throughout, by his being always regarded by Cyrus, as the virtual head; but without a formal acknowledgement of it. Doubtless Cyrus kept this body of troops in a disjointed state, to prevent any mischief to himself, from a consciousness of its own strength, had it been united under one able commander. He might also encourage some degree of jealousy amongst the commanders of the different corps; (as in the case of Clearchus and Menon) in order to prevent too close a combination of interests.

Upon the whole then, it was not so much the *want* of proper persons, to fill the vacancies, occasioned by the massacre; as that the troops felt a want of confidence in themselves, until they were filled up.

CHAPTER VIII.

RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND GREEKS, FROM THE RIVER ZABATUS, TOWARDS THE CARDUCHIAN MOUNTAINS.

The TEN THOUSAND *commence their* RETREAT; *and cross the river* Zabatus, *in the face of the* Persian *Army*—Order *of* March—*The first march unpromising; through the want of Cavalry, and effective missile weapons—Both defects supplied; and the enemy repulsed on the* second *march—Continue their Retreat; the enemy only making desultory attacks—Persian practice of* shooting backwards, *in their retreat—The Greeks pass by the* walls *of an* Ancient City—Improve *their* Military Disposition, *preparatory to their* sixth *march—The Persians now keep at a wary distance, until the* tenth *day; when the armies arrive at a* ridge *of* hills, *which* shuts up the plain, *to the banks of the* Tigris—*Recognised in the ridge situated above* Zaco—*Calculation of the Distance by the Route, between the* Zabatus *and the* Hills *of* Zaco—*Description of the* Zaco *Hills, by* Mr. Sullivan, *and* Dr. Howell; *and of the same Hills, by* Xenophon—*Battle on those Hills, on the day of the* tenth *march from the* Zabatus—*Modern town of* Zaco—*Its District, the* Sacopodes *of* Strabo.

FROM the river *Zabatus*, where the RETREAT properly commences, the TEN THOUSAND pursued their way, keeping near

to the eastern bank of the Tigris: having crossed the *Zabatus*, at the place of encampment; which, from circumstances, must have been near its conflux with the Tigris.*

It appears extraordinary that Xenophon should be silent, respecting the mode of passing the *Zabatus*. It was performed under the eye of the enemy, who did not attempt to molest the Greeks, although in full day-light: for no kind of obstruction or difficulty is mentioned. (Lib. III. c. 15.) Yet travellers universally cross it on floats, in the line between Mosul and Arbela; where it is reckoned very deep and dangerous: and the Greeks crossed it much lower down. Xenophon reckons it 400 feet wide; and modern travellers allow it to be half the bulk of the Tigris; which river, however, is only about 300 feet wide at the bridge of Mosul.† But one cannot suppose otherwise, than that the *Zabatus* was *fordable*, where the Greeks crossed it. It was in the latter end of October; when the Tigris, (and probably the Zab also,) would be low.

The Greeks marched only 25 stadia, or about two miles and a half, the first day: because the plan which they had previously arranged, was to stop at certain villages to collect provisions; which, under their present circumstances, was become indispensably necessary.

Their military disposition, on the march, was a hollow,

* The reader is referred to the Map No. III. for the detail of the route of the Greeks, from the river *Zabatus* to the *Carduchian* mountains. The course of their retreat, brought them to the bank of the Tigris, in little more than one march from the *Zabatus*.

† The bridge had twenty pontoons only. It is probable that they placed it, at a narrow part of the river; so that 300 feet cannot be taken for the ordinary breadth of the Tigris; any more than 400 for that of the *Zabatus*. The Tigris is more probably between 400 and 500; the Zabatus only 300 feet, in breadth.

equilateral square; formed by the heavy armed men, or *Phalanx;* with the baggage within it. This latter had previously been reduced to those articles, alone, which were required merely for use in war, or for the support of life. Tents and carriages were therefore destroyed, of course. The light armed troops, though a very large body, (having been 2400 before the battle of *Cunaxa,)* are not mentioned in the account of the disposition; but it may be collected, elsewhere, that they were distributed, *generally*, round the exterior of the square: but some also, with the baggage, in the centre of it. For it is said, that during the battle on the hills [of Zaco] on the 10th day's march, the targeteers were brought up from *the right of the square:* and in the attack of the hill, on the 14th, the targeteers were *left* by Xenophon, *to protect the rear*, when the enemy were in sight, threatening it. And in the same affair, the targeteers from the *front*, and those that were in the *middle* of the *square*, composed part of the detachment sent with Xenophon to dislodge the enemy from the summit beforementioned; which commanded the road.

The movements of so large a body, formed in so unusual and inconvenient an order of march, *for a length of time*, must necessarily have been slow: and were probably rendered yet slower, by the necessity of accommodating its motions, at all times, to those of the miscellaneous mass contained within it.

The depth of the lines which composed the sides of the square, is not mentioned; but possibly, might not have been equal throughout. Since they had numbers, more than sufficient to form a square of any reasonable extent and depth, to protect the baggage and stores, the grand point for consideration

would have been, the necessary extent of front to be given to their *lines of battle;* (for such the sides of the square are to be considered) in order to oppose a sufficient force to the attacks of the enemy. The whole force of heavy-armed, would have admitted fronts of 500 men; had they been drawn up with such a depth only, as would allow all the different ranks to present their pikes to the front; which, according to Polybius (lib. xvii.), was *five.* But such an extent would have embarrassed their movements; and been unnecessary in every other point of view. Moreover, very much less than half such an area, would have sufficed. One might conclude, that fronts of about 300 were sufficient: and allowing a depth of *eight*, ten thousand men would give *fronts* of about 315. And even then, the square required a breadth of at least 500 feet to move in. It will soon appear that they were compelled to reduce this extent of front.

Thucydides relates, (Lib. V.) that at the battle of *Mantinea*, a little more than 20 years before the expedition in question, the *Lacedæmonian* order of battle was *eight* deep. And as the order and discipline of this body of Greeks, may be supposed, from known circumstances, to have partaken very much, if it was not absolutely, of the *Lacedæmonian* character, a depth of eight, appears very likely to have been adopted. And hence it may also be inferred, that the depth of *four*, at the review at *Tyriæum*, was that of *half files*. (Anab. Lib. I. c. 7.)*

* At the battle of *Leuctra*, 30 years after the date of this expedition, the Thebans *reduced* the depth of their right wing to *six*, the better to oppose the extended line of the Spartans. So that, although the general depth of the phalanx was regulated; yet it was changed, when occasion required it.

Considering the extreme weakness of the angles of the square, one may conclude

The first deficiency felt, was that of cavalry,* and slingers, to repel those of the enemy, who taught them this want, during the first very short march; which indeed presented a very unpromising aspect. But the Greeks surmounted every difficulty: they halted during the whole of the succeeding day; and employed it in equipping and mounting 50 horsemen, on the best of the horses, that were found among the baggage, &c.: and also in forming a body of 200 slingers, out of the *Rhodians*, and others, in the army. These new corps saved the Greeks from attacks that would finally have impeded their march, and wasted their strength; for the missile weapons of the Persian cavalry, were so greatly superior in point of *range*, to those of the *original* light armed corps of the Greeks, that the latter had been compelled to retire for shelter within the square; nor could the heavy armed, of course, make any impression on an enemy at a distance. But the reception given to the enemy by the *new* light corps, and horse, on the next day, small as their numbers appear, kept them at a distance the rest of the day; which was the *second* march from the *Zabatus;* and which brought them once more to the side of the Tigris.†

that they had some method of *rounding them off*; at this time: or of cutting them off, so as to form an irregular octagonal figure.

* The only cavalry which the Greeks brought with them, 40 in number (*Thracians*) deserted the day after the battle of *Cunaxa*. Whilst the Greeks formed a portion of the army of Cyrus, they of course felt no want of cavalry.

† There needs no argument in favour of employing different kinds of weapons: as occasions happen, when only a particular kind of weapon can be used with effect; and which at those times, often decides the fortune of the day. This applies to the sea, as well as the land service. The *Pique* would not have been taken, but for the musquetry of her adversary. The *Phalanx* had no means of repelling a charge of missile weapons;

The length of this march, is not given: but for a march, in order of battle, it may be supposed to have been rather long, as they marched undisturbed the greater part of the day; after the repulse given to the Persian horse, and slingers, under Mithridates. If 4 parasangas are allowed (and 5 constituted an *ordinary* march), this would bring them, in our geography, somewhat beyond the site of the *wear* across the Tigris, seen by Thevenot and others, above the place of the influx of the great Zab. Xenophon found near this encampment, a large uninhabited city, named *Larissa*. (c. 18.)

On the 3d march, they proceeded *unmolested* the whole day, and advanced, according to Xenophon, 6 parasangas, or nearly 17 British miles. Here he describes a large city and castle named *Mespyla*, both uninhabited. The extent of the city is said to have been no less than 6 parasangas in circuit, inclosed with a wall of great height and thickness. More will be said respecting it presently. (c. 19.)

The 4th day they marched 4 parasangas, and were menaced with a close attack from the grand army under Tissaphernes. Notwithstanding the vast superiority of numbers, nothing more was done than the discharging of some arrows, and stones: but the enemy were driven away by the leaden balls from the Rhodian slings, which went farther than even the Persian arrows.* It was remarked, that the body of troops

and therefore was imperfect, without a due proportion of light troops, and of cavalry. A fatal instance of this kind afterwards happened to the *Peloponnesians* of this army, in Asiatic Thrace. (Lib. vi. c. 16.)

* Xenophon mentions the practice of the Persians, of shooting backwards from their horses, as they retired. This practice has often been referred to the Parthians, alone; but it here appears to have been in use before the Parthian dynasty. The reader is

which the Greeks met at *Opis*, on their way from *Media*, were in the field this day. So that here is a kind of proof, that the delay at the truce villages in *Babylonia*, was studied: and partly, it may be concluded, to bring up these troops.

The Greeks, after refreshing themselves the following day in the villages contiguous to the camp; and collecting provisions for a future time, marched on the succeeding day (the 5th march) *through an open country*;* Tissaphernes harassing them at a distance.

The length of this march, is not given; but supposing it to be of about 4 parasangas, it would have brought them to the site of ancient *Nineveh*, which lay directly opposite to the present city of Mosul.† Nineveh could not but have been known, historically, to every well-informed Greek; but the little leisure left to curiosity, at this time, might account for its site being passed over, unobserved: or even encamped on, without its becoming an object of notice.

However it may be suspected, that Xenophon has transposed some of these encampments; as it is *known* that he has done, some particulars on the coast of the Euxine; and as may be *suspected* he has done, between the *Daradax* and *Araxes* rivers. Accordingly, *Mespyla* or *Mespula*, (see above, page

here cautioned not to be misled by the 38th note of Mr. Spelman, in Lib. III. respecting the *Parthians*.

* This is the first time of mentioning an open country; and by the distance marched from the *Zabatus*, it agrees with the actual geography, which describes the open country to extend 10 to 15 miles to the southward of Mosul; on the *Assyrian* side.

† For this particular, the reader is referred to the Travels of M. Niebuhr, Vol. 2. The name *Nineveh* is universally applied by the natives, to the site opposite Mosul; which presents the appearance of heaps of ruins, (or rather rubbish) like those of Babylon, through a very considerable extent.

145,) may possibly represent *Nineveh*; although placed at the end of the 3d march, instead of the 5th from the *Zabatus*.*

It was in this camp, that they devised the means of rectifying certain great inconveniences, arising from their disposition of an *equilateral* square. (Lib. III. c. 21.)

As the text appears to be either corrupted, or deficient, or both, in this place, more was necessary to be said, than could be introduced here, without interrupting the narrative of the retreat, for too long a space. It is therefore reserved till after the end of the retreat; and given in a separate chapter. (No. X.) It may only be necessary to say in this place, that the form of the regular, or *equilateral* square, having been found by experience to be inconvenient, from the difficulty of making its way, even over ordinary ground, with so extended a front; and also from the difficulty of closing up the rear of the square, with sufficient promptitude, so as to exclude the enemy's cavalry, which followed quick at their heels, when forming anew, after coming out of a defile, or close country; a change took place in the disposition and order of march. This seems to have been effected by a conversion of the *regular* into an *oblong* square; and by an arangement for the more readily closing up the opening in the rear, occasioned by the separa-

* The word *Mosul* is said to mean a *passage*, like *Thapsacus* and *Dar*. *Mespyla* may possibly have had a reference to the passage over the Tigris, between Nineveh and the *site* of Mosul.

It will probably be allowed that a city of six parasangas in circuit (or a square of $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, as *Mespyla* is said to have been, is one of great extent. But ancient Nineveh, is said to have even surpassed Babylon, in that respect: although the latter was a square of at least $8\frac{1}{2}$ British miles. Might not the *Mespyla* of Xenophon, have been the remains of a *Nineveh*, posterior to the one described as the capital of the Assyrian Empire?

tion of the flanks, on their forming anew. This improvement appears to have been calculated to combine the advantage of such an extent of front, as might be rendered sufficiently secure; with that which afforded a facility of movement.

The history says, that under their new disposition, they made four marches; which would include of course the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th, marching days from the *Zabatus*. No particulars of any kind, are given, on these four days. It may therefore be inferred, that all was quiet from attack: and that having corrected the errors of their former disposition, and supplied their deficiencies; the enemy were awed into the measure of keeping at a wary distance, so long as the Greeks continued on ground, where they could act with effect as a phalanx: and where there was no strong ground in the way, for the enemy to post themselves on.

Concerning the general description of the ground, over which they had been retreating for the last five days, there is sufficient information from intelligent modern travellers. The open country, which extends to some distance *below* Mosul, extends also *upwards*, to the foot of certain hills, which the Greeks ascended, early on the *tenth* day (that is, not the 10th day, since they *left* the *Zabatus*; but the 10th *marching day*: they having made halts by the way),* and which hills, shut up the plain, at about 40 G. miles above Mosul. The last five marches, therefore, lay through this extensive plain; which is bounded on one side (the west) by the Tigris; and on the other, by a ridge of hills, which run parallel, and adjoin to, the *Carduchian* mountains; of which ridge more will be said presently.

* It is said to have been the *fifth*, after the change of the disposition. (Lib. III. c. 22.)

Early on the tenth day, then, the Greeks came to a place, where the road lay over *high hills;* and those of considerable extent, as would appear from circumstances. "These *hills*" says Xenophon "*reached down from the mountain*, under which "there stood a village." (Lib. III. c. 22.) From this description, combined with other circumstances, which will presently be made to appear, it may be clearly understood, that the hills in question *projected* from the great ridge of the *Carduchian* mountains; in such a manner, as to shut up the end of the plain, through which they had been marching, the last five days; by stretching across their line of march, to the bank of the Tigris.* And that it could be no more than a ridge, composed of an inferior order of mountains, projecting from the greater ones, is learnt from the circumstance of the Greeks *crossing it*, and again descending into the plain, beyond it; whilst the greater mountains still continued, on their right (the east).

Before we compare the ancient and modern descriptions of these hills with each other, it will be proper to enter into a comparison of the space that intervenes on the map, founded on the authority of modern travellers; with the distance arising on the marches, performed by the Greeks, since their departure from the *Zabatus:* considering these hills as forming a very important point of recognition in the geography.

Three of the nine marches, which brought the Greeks to the *neighbourhood* of these hills, have their length given by the historian: the first at 25 stadia, or $\frac{5}{6}$ of a parasanga; the 3d at 6 paras. (but which appears too long): and the 4th march, at 4 paras; in all somewhat less than 11 parasangas. With

* See the detail of this route in Map No. III.

respect to the other 6 marches, one would conceive that 4 paras. at a medium, or rather more than 11 British miles, was a sufficient allowance for a body of 12,000 men formed in a hollow square; ordinarily prepared for action; and occasionally engaged in it. Allowance is also to be made for delay, on the score of the sick and wounded men, that were *carried;* and no less on the score of the baggage cattle, contained *within the area* of the square.* But on the other hand, we may perhaps, calculate upon more than ordinary vigour and exertion, on so animating an occasion, as that, which, in the event of a successful termination, would not only restore to their country and friends, those who took part in the glorious enterprise of THE RETREAT, but confer IMMORTALITY on them and their country. Allowing them, then, to have surpassed the ordinary exertions of mere soldiers, under such circumstances; and to have made 12 miles one day with another, during the 8 marches (for the first can only be reckoned a movement), this rate, under such a disposition must be allowed to be high, when little more than 14 miles, was an ordinary march, at times when neither hostility, nor interruption of any kind occurred. (It is also to be considered, that 5 of these marches, were made, without any interval of halt.) There are then to be reckoned $34\frac{1}{2}$ parasangas for the eight complete marches; and with the 9th short one, nearly $35\frac{1}{2}$; which brings the account to the end of the 9th march; and if 2 parasangas, or 6 miles be allowed to bring them to the foot of the hills, on the 10th day (as it was *early* on the march); there are to be reckoned in all $37\frac{1}{2}$ parasangas from the

* *Delay* may be inferred from the remarks of Xenophon, on the defects of the *square,* in retreating before an active and powerful enemy. (Lib. III. c. 21.)

Zabatus: which are equal to about 104 British miles *by the road*, or about 80 G. miles in *direct* distance, from the influx of the Zab, to the southern foot of the ridge of hills (which we shall beg leave to name hereafter, the hills of *Zaco*, from a town, or large village, situated on the opposite, or northern side of the ridge.*)

It is fortunate for the illustration of this critical part of the ground, that certain European gentlemen have gone over it, and noted the character of it. One of these, Mr. John Sullivan, has most obligingly communicated his notes, taken during a journey from Constantinople to Baghdad, in 1781. The observations of the Abbé Sestini, who accompanied him; and who has published an account of the journey (in Italian), have also been referred to. And finally, those of Dr. Howel, who returned from India to Europe, in 1788. These gentlemen severally remark the chain of hills, which obstructs the road between Mosul and Jezirah; not only on the score of delay and inconvenience, but as affording shelter to robbers.

In point of general situation, this chain lies about midway between Mosul and the point of junction of M. *Masius* with the *Carduchian* mountains, where the Tigris issues from the great valley of Diyarbekir; and where, it may be supposed, the river, by tearing away the base of the mountain, has formed the lofty cliffs, which afterwards arrested the progress of the Greeks, along the northern bank of that river.

The town of Jezirah (ibn Omar) situated on the Mesopotamian side of the Tigris, regulates the whole suite of positions,

* In Strabo, page 745, the *Sacopodes* are synonymous with the *Adiabeni*. By its situation, the present territory of Zaco may have been a province of *Adiabene*; which was comprehended generally between the Tigris and the *Caprus*.

geographically, between Mosul and the abovementioned *defile*, through which the Tigris passes. It is satisfactorily determined, by the reports of Mr. Sullivan and others, as given in the accompanying note, which is extracted from the account of the geographical construction before mentioned. Its general position is $46\frac{1}{3}$ G. miles to the east, northerly, from Nasebin; 72 to the N. W. of Mosul.*

The ridge of Zaco took Mr. Sullivan four hours to cross, in a *tahkt rewan*, or litter; and its southern flank, towards Mosul, being about $17\frac{1}{2}$ hours from Jezirah, 23 from Mosul, may be placed at 41 G. miles from the latter. And as the conflux of the Tigris and Zab, is placed by the construction, 42 below Mosul, the aggregate distance will of course be 83 G. miles: being only 3 miles more than arises on the calculation of the marches of Xenophon.† (See page 151.) Whether we have *under*-rated the marches, or *over*-rated the distance on the construction; it must be allowed that the agreement is

* Mr. Sullivan and the Abbé Sestini, reckoned Jezirah 22 hours from Nasebin (*Nisibis*), and to the northward of east. Dr. Howel reckoned 19 hours, and Mr. Ives was told 21. Adopting the report of Mr. Sullivan, $46\frac{1}{3}$ G. miles are allowed.

Between Jezirah and Mosul, Messrs. Sullivan and Sestini reckoned at a mean 39 hours; and Mr. Ives was told, 40. The road being both difficult and circuitous, and the ridge of Zaco also lying in the way, only about 72 G. miles can be allowed: and the intersection of these two lines, places Jezirah in latitude 37° 12′ 30″; lon. 42° 1′ 20″: and in a bearing of E. $14\frac{1}{2}$ N. from Naesbin.

The mountains of Karadjy-dag, (or *Masius*) according to M. Niebuhr, close on the course of the Tigris, and the greater mountains of Kourdistan; at about 11 G. miles to the N. W. of Jezirah.

† In both these cases regard is to be had to the *bend* of the Tigris, at Mosul: in other words, the line must not be taken *direct*, but *through Mosul*. It may be observed, that the *proportions* of the *direct* distance, differ, on the two portions of $17\frac{1}{2}$, and 23 hours. The cause is, that the Zaco hills intervene in the first; and that the road is, on the whole, rougher than in the second portion.

near; and may to some appear to prove too much: but as the *data* for both, have been exhibited to the reader, he will be enabled to exercise his own judgment, both on the calculation, and on the application of the result.

It will now be proper to extract the several descriptions given, of the ridge of Zaco; as well as those of the ground in general, between it and Mosul; as they greatly illustrate this part of the retreat.

The country begins to open, and is generally flat, from about 10 to 15 miles south of Mosul: and continues so, northward, to the aforesaid ridge; which, as before remarked, is a projection from the *Carduchian* mountains, pointing to the westward, or W. S. W.; whilst the mountains themselves extend from E. S. E. to W. N. W.; or nearly parallel to the course of the Tigris: and at 17 or 18 miles distant from the line of the road between Zaco and Mosul. But to the northward of Zaco, they gradually approach the Tigris, until at last, they encroach on it, and form the strait and cliffs, beforementioned.

But the plain in question, is narrowed to about 12 miles, generally, by ridges of a lower order of mountains (or hills) which run parallel to the *Carduchian*, and are connected, endwise, with those of Zaco: and which approach so near to the Tigris, opposite Mosul, as to reduce the plain to a *slip* of about 4 miles, only. This is the general character of the plain, through which the Greeks had been marching, for the last five days. But from Mosul eastward and south-eastward, it expands to a great extent; and terminates in the great plain of *Arbela* and *Gaugamela*, the scene of Alexander's warfare with Darius, in ASSYRIA.

Thus it appears, that the country along the Tigris, from a point considerably below Mosul, to the hills of Zaco, is open, and generally flat. Mr. Sullivan, in his way southward, after descending the Zaco ridge, says, " We found ourselves at the entrance of the plain, which extends to Mosul." This is, however, to be understood with some exceptions: for he says, that the ground for some miles short (*i. e.* to the north) of *Tel-Escoff*, is rocky and uneven. Escoff itself lies at the *foot* of the inferior ridge. Dr. Howel, to avoid the danger of the direct road, made a circuit from Mosul, and ascended the hills, which he compares to those of *Highgate* and *Hampstead;* the country " broken by frequent ascents and descents."* And between Escoff and Assee (at the southern foot of the Zaco hills) " the ground was irregular—we kept close to the hills " on the right" (the north-east). M. Sestini says, that the road was frequently intersected by the beds of torrents, that descend from the hills. And although Dr. Howel found the country broken and irregular, near the foot of the hills, yet Mr. Sullivan found a clear, well-cultivated tract, near the Tigris, between Escoff and Mosul. And on the whole, it may be collected, that the tract through which the Greeks marched the five days, previous to their arrival at the Zaco hills, if not answering perfectly to the description of *plain*, was by no means *hilly* or rough.

It is certain that there is no mention made of the Tigris, by Xenophon, from the day of the 3d march, to that of the 14th, when they arrived at the *overhanging* cliffs, which stopped their

* It must have been on some part of this range of beautiful hills, that the camp of Alexander was formed, before he descended into the field of *Gaugamela*; commonly referred to *Arbela*. *Gaugamela* is now named *Camalis*.

progress. And it is very possible, that until the 12th march, they might never have *seen* it, although their line of march was never very far from it. It is to be concluded, that they were in no want of guides for the great roads, along or near the *general* course of the Tigris; because with attention, they might always be procured, in a well inhabited country. That such roads existed, cannot be doubted, because there are two well-known passes over the Tigris in that quarter; the one at Jezirah (the ancient *Bezabde*), the other, just below the Zaco hills; where Alexander may be supposed to have forded the river, in his way to the field of *Arbela;* as we learn from Arrian. (Lib. III.) See the note to page 63.

We come now, to the modern description of the hills of Zaco.

Dr. Howel came from the same quarter as the Greeks; that is, from the side of Mosul. He says (page 78), "We "left Assee* at day break—after marching 3 miles, we turned "suddenly towards the hills, which we crossed by a very "rocky and rugged path. These hills produce little else "than a few shrubs of an insignificant size, &c. Having "gained the plain," &c.†

Mr. Sullivan came from the opposite quarter, and dates his departure from Zaco, in the latter end of June.

He says, "We were this evening to pass a *ridge* of the "*Kourdistan* mountains. The way over it, was difficult and "dangerous, for *tahkt rewans*. We set out at 5 *p. m.* and at 9 "found ourselves at the entrance of the plain, which extends "to Mosul."

* Apparently the same site with that of the village remarked by Xenophon. (Lib. III. c. 22.) † That is, the plain on the side towards Jezirah.

The Abbé Sestini, says (page 145, Italian edition), " Leav-
" ing Zaco, we directed our march towards the south, across
" high and steep mountains—in effect, having with much dif-
" ficulty crossed this whole chain of mountains, which makes
" a part of those of Kourdistan, we descended into a great
" plain, having on our right the mountains of Sinjar." [In *Mesopotamia*.]

These descriptions, although very brief, prove that the ridge of Zaco, shuts up the road, along the Tigris, between Mosul and Jezirah; that it has a base so wide, as to require 4 hours to cross it in a tahkt rewan; that it is lofty, steep, and rocky; and the path, rugged, difficult, and dangerous. And that it is a part of the Kourdistan region, cannot be doubted: because Messrs. Sullivan and Sestini say so in direct terms: and the former, in his journal, describes his leaving the Kourdistan mountains, at 5 miles, only, to the eastward, when at 16 miles to the N. W. of Zaco: and both Dr. Howel and M. Sestini describe the same mountains covered with snow, running parallel to the road between Zaco and Mosul. The reader is requested again to refer to the before mentioned Map, No. III.

Whether the Greeks crossed the ridge by the ordinary road, now in use, or at a point nearer to the great mountains, is of little consequence to the argument: but by the time which they remained on the hills, one might conclude, that it was by the latter; and that they took the first road that offered, in order to escape the enemy's cavalry, as soon as they could.

The history says, " whilst they were on their march, on the 5th day," [that is, the 5th day since they improved their order of march; but the 10th from the *Zabatus*] " they saw a

" palace, and many villages lying round it. The road which led
" to this place, lay over high hills that *reached down from the*
" *mountain*, under which there stood a village.* The Greeks were
" rejoiced to see these hills, and with great reason, the enemy's
" forces consisting in horse. But after they had left the plain,
" and ascended the first hill, while they were descending from
" thence, in order to climb the next, the *barbarians* appeared,
" and from the eminence showered down upon them, (under
" the scourge) darts, stones, and arrows. They wounded
" many; and had the advantage over the Greek light-armed
" men; forcing them to retire within the body of the heavy-
" armed; so that the slingers and archers were that day en-
" tirely useless, being mixed with those who had the charge
" of the baggage. And when the Greeks, being thus pressed,
" endeavoured to pursue the enemy, as they were heavy-armed
" men, they moved slowly to the top of the mountain, whilst
" the enemy quickly retreated: and when the Greeks retired
" to their main body, the same thing happened to them again.
" They found the same difficulty in passing the second hill;
" so that they determined not to order out the heavy-
" armed men, from the third hill; but instead of that, they
" brought up the targeteers to the top of the mountain, from
" the right of the [oblong]† square. When these were got
" above the enemy, they no longer molested our men in their
" descent, fearing to be cut off from their own body, and that
" we should attack them on both sides. In this manner we
" marched the rest of the day; some in the road upon the

* The village of Assee appears to occupy the same position at present. See Map No. III. and also Dr. Howel's remark in page 155.

† This term occurs in the original, but is omitted both by Spelman and Larcher.

" hills, and others abreast of them upon the mountain, till they " came to the villages; when they appointed eight surgeons; " for there were many wounded." (Lib. III. c. 22.)

The modern descriptions of these hills, which are indeed much too brief for the purpose, do not mention distinct or separate ridges. It is probable that these were nothing more than the broken summits of the main ridge; and that the vallies were neither deep nor wide; for the passing of three hills, together with their intermediate vallies, would have employed more time than the description seems to warrant: but they seem to have taken up no great proportion of the days' march. Moreover, the villages in which they quartered this day, had been *in sight*, before they ascended the hills. It must be understood that the palace and villages stood on the slope of the greater mountains: and that in order to reach them, the inferior chain (of Zaco) must first have been crossed.

The expression, that the Greeks were "*rejoiced to see the* " *hills*," because of the enemy's cavalry, seems to shew, that they were the first hills, of any degree of height, or steepness, that they had met with in their route, since they left the *Zabatus*.

In the villages on the mountain, they staid three days; both on account of the wounded, and because they found great plenty of provisions, laid up for the *satrape* of the country. This position must have been situated immediately *over* the present town of Zaco, which stands near the *northern* foot of the ridge denominated from it; as that of Assee* does at the *southern* foot of the same ridge; and appears to answer decidedly to the village mentioned by Xenophon, which stood under " the high " hills, that reached down from the mountain."†

* See Dr. Howel's account, at page 155. † See above, page 157.

Zaco is the most considerable place that occurs between Mosul and Jezirah; and is surrounded by a fertile district, which produces a great variety of excellent fruits. Hence it agrees with the circumstance of laying in provisions for the satrape: and it may be supposed that Zaco was then, as now, the principal place of the province, which is found in Strabo, under the title of *Sacopodes*. Wine was also found in these villages: perhaps the palm wine before described in *Babylonia*, (page 120): and of which, according to Herodotus, great quantities were brought down the Tigris, from *Armenia*: that is, the quarter above Zaco.

Zaco stands in an island of the river Kurnib, which descends from the Kourdistan mountains; and falls into the Tigris, a few miles below the town. It is ordinarily navigable for Killecks, or floats: of which, many are made here. The Kurnib is a mountain torrent: and at times, contains a great volume of water. It has a fine stone bridge over it. As there is no mention made in the history, of crossing any river between the *Zabatus* and the ascent of the *Carduchian* mountains, it may be supposed that this river, and its adjunct, the Durnah, were both low, at the time the Greeks passed them.

CHAPTER IX.

THE RETREAT CONTINUED, FROM THE HILLS OF ZACO TO THE CARDUCHIAN MOUNTAINS.

The Greeks *again attacked, on their descent into the plain—Unmilitary practice of the* Persians, *of which the* Greeks *avail themselves, to steal a march—Geographical Discussion, relative to the distance arising on these marches—The enemy dislodged from the* eminence *which* commanded the road, *on the* 14*th March—The* Carduchian *(or Kourdistan) Mountains close on the bank of the* Tigris; *and shut up the passage, along it, with an* overhanging cliff—*Scheme for crossing the Tigris on* floats, *too hazardous—The Grecian Generals resolve to ascend the* Carduchian *mountains—Great address displayed, in executing this measure—Ascend, unperceived by the enemy, whilst within their reach—Enter the* Carduchian *territory, after having struggled with various difficulties,* twenty-one *days—New hostility with the* Carduchians *unavoidable—This mountainous region presents an* Asylum *to the* Greeks; *and saves them from eventual destruction, by the sword of the enemy.*

DESCENDING again from the hills (of *Zaco*), the Greeks made only a short march on the *morning* of the 11th day;

being so closely pursued by the enemy, that they were constrained to halt in the first villages they came to, in the plain; from the number of wounded men, and the loss of the services of those who carried and attended them. Here they availed themselves of the Persian custom of retiring to the distance of about 6 miles, to prevent a surprise in the night,* to steal a march of about the same length; which not only made up for the loss of distance during the day, but left their pursuers so far behind, (about 12 miles of course,) that they did not appear, during the next two marches; the 12th and 13th.

There is no account given in the history, either of the nature of the country, or of the distance marched, during these two days. It appears clearly, however, that they came down into the *plain* again, on the 11th day: and that *late* on the 14th, or *last* day's march along the Tigris, the enemy were found in possession of the heights in their front. It may reasonably be supposed that Xenophon thought the description of the ground, unimportant, when nothing occurred to render a description necessary; as appears to have been the case, on the two preceding days.

Messrs. Sullivan and Sestini give a good general idea of the ground, between the Zaco hills and Jezirah; which latter, although the extreme limit of their observations, was short of the point, to which the Greeks ascended, along the bank of the Tigris. Nor is there any good modern account of the

* "The cavalry of a Persian army, are subject to great inconveniences; for their "horses are tied, and generally shackled, to prevent them from running away; and if "an alarm happens, a Persian has the housing to fix, his horse to bridle, and his cors-"let to put on, before he can mount. All these things cannot be done in the night, "without great difficulty; particularly if there is an alarm. For this reason they "always encamped at a distance from the Greeks." (Lib. III. c. 23.)

ground above Jezirah. All that is known, is, the place where the great chain of Karadjy-Dagh* *(Masius)* crosses the course of the Tigris, and joins to the Kourdistan (or *Carduchian* mountains): and this we derive from M. Niebuhr, who kept the mountains in view, and had an opportunity of determining in a general way, their line of direction.

It is known from the journals of the before mentioned gentlemen, that the plain extends from Zaco, to the distance of about 9 hours journey upwards, along the course of the Tigris; bounded on the opposite side by the great mountains, which are in this part, named *Jeudi;* answering to the *Carduchian;* and which, approach within 5 or 6 miles of the bank of the Tigris.

Near the northern extremity of this plain, stands the village of Nahrawan;† and soon after the ground rises, and gradually swells into a high mountain; over which the road lies, immediately above the Tigris.‡ But this must not be mistaken for the mountain by which the Greeks ascended finally

* The Black mountains.

† This village, according to the Mahomedans, is denominated from the Patriarch Noah: and opposite to it, on the high mountains of *Jeudi* (the *Carduchian*), the Mahomedan *dervishes* have erected a small temple, in honour of him. For, according to their idea, the ark rested there. Mr. Sullivan saw the lights, which are kept constantly burning, in the temple. The name *Jeudi* is said to have a reference to the number of persons in the ark.

Since these mountains form a portion of *Armenia*, according to the former division of that country, (for both Herodotus and Moses of *Chorene* include the upper part of the course of the Tigris in Armenia) they appear to have at least an equal claim to the title of ARARAT, with that celebrated mountain, near Irwân, called *Agri-dagh* by the Mahomedans, *Macis* by the Christian Armenians. For *Ararat* has a reference to Armenia, *at large*; not to a particular mountain.

‡ Mr. Sullivan's Journal.

into the region of the *Carduchians;* because the road *still lies along the bank of the Tigris*, beyond the mountain in question: and it is well known that the Greeks ascended the *Carduchian* mountains, because *they could no longer march along the banks of the Tigris.*

Mr. Sullivan indeed says, that near *Nahrawan*, they had immense rocks of coarse gravel (cemented together), like that, of which the bed of the Tigris is formed, hanging over their heads, and also obstructing the passage, where fallen down. These might at first sight be taken for the overhanging cliffs of the *Carduchian* mountains, which arrested the progress of the Greeks: but the fact just mentioned, contradicts it; and it is certain that the Oriental geographers state, and which is confirmed by Mr. Sullivan, that the mountains of Jeudi, are 4 miles within the eastern bank of the Tigris, at Jezirah; which place is still 8 or 9 miles *higher* up, than the gravelly cliffs in question; 10 or 11 *below* the place, where M. *Masius* closes on the *Carduchian* mountains, leaving only a passage for the Tigris: which in that place may be supposed to form the impending cliffs, beforementioned.

If the distance marched from the encampment above Zaco, to the place where the Greeks were finally impeded, be calculated, it will be found to reach far above the heights described by Mr. Sullivan. For the Greeks, as we have seen, arrived *at* the Zaco Hills, in their way from the southward, *early* on the tenth march: because they afterwards, in the course of the *same day's* march, not only passed over the 3 summits, where they were compelled to fight their way; but marched also, *the rest of the day*, on the hills; and finally, halted in villages, that appear to have been on the slope of the great mountains.

There must then be an allowance of distance, for the *remainder* of the 10th march; for the first part, *to the hills*, has been already fixed at two parasangas only, in the arrangement of the distance, between the *Zabatus* and the *Zaco* hills, in page 150. If 2 more parasangas be allowed for the remainder of the march, this will constitute *a new point of departure*, for the line of distance, northward; at 86 G. miles from the *Zabatus*.*

The 11th march, even with the addition of the 60 stadia for the stolen march in the evening, would not probably be more than equal to an *ordinary* march, of 5 parasangas; because we are told, that after they had descended from the hills, and Tissaphernes had overtaken them, "they were compelled to "halt at the first villages they came to."† The utmost then, probably, has been allowed. The 12th and 13th marches were made, without seeing the enemy; yet from the increased number of the wounded, great delays must have taken place; notwithstanding that one of the marches was through the plain, between Zaco and Nahrawan; the other, although on the heights above the latter, yet was not over a difficult road. Perhaps, 9 parasangas for the 2 days, or between 12 and 13 miles *per* day, may be sufficient; and then, the encampment of the 12th, would fall on the heights of Nahrawan; and that of the 13th, nearly opposite to the site of Jezirah. But on the 14th, (or *last march, along the Tigris)* considering the difficulties they had to encounter, in respect both of the enemy, and

* See pages 151, 152, where 80 to 83 are allowed to the foot of the Zaco ridge.

† "Some being wounded, some employed in carrying them, and others employed in "carrying the arms of the latter, great numbers were not in a condition to fight. But "when they were encamped, the Greeks had greatly the advantage," &c. (Lib. III. c. 23)

the nature of the country, 4 parasangas, or a little more than 11 miles, may be sufficient.

The account will then give 18 parasangas, or about 50 British miles, by the trace of the road, from the station on the hills, over Zaco, to the highest point, to which the Greeks ascended, along the Tigris. And these, reduced to direct distance, will be 38½ G. miles; which will reach to a point 9 miles above Jezirah: whilst M. Niebuhr, describes the meeting of the ridges of Karadjy-Dagh and Jeudi (i. e. *Masius* and the *Carduchian* mountains), to be much in the same *general* position: that is, about 11 miles above Jezirah.* And it may be concluded, that the place where "*exceeding high mountains*" hung over the *river*, and completely impeded the passage along the bank of the Tigris, could be no other than where it forces a passage between the above chains of mountains.†

It would, however, have been more satisfactory to have followed some modern traveller, in his journal to this strait, than to be necessitated to adopt the position, on the foundation of a distant view: but it may nevertheless be conceived, that the near coincidence of the position given, with that assumed from the history, contains much internal evidence of the truth of both.

But even if this point, be given up, the hills of Zaco must be allowed to approach as nearly as possible to a positive proof

* Here follows a statement of the distances from the *Zabatus* to the *ascent*.

From the *Zabatus* to the southern foot of the Zaco ridge -	80 G. M.
To the camp on the hills, on the day of the 10th march (2 paras.)	4½
Thence, to the overhanging cliffs - - - -	38½
Total	123 G. Miles.

† Lib. IV. at the beginning.

of the position of the Ten Thousand, *at that period* of their retreat. And as the remainder of their march, along the Tigris, was no more than about 40 G. miles, in direct distance, there is no great latitude for error, at any rate: and whether M. Niebuhr's position be admitted, or not, *that* of the Ten Thousand, at the time of their ascending the mountains, may be regarded as a near approximation, in the construction of this species of geography.

Having thus brought the Greeks, *geographically*, to the foot of the *Carduchian* mountains, it will be proper to add some remarks on their proceedings by the way: and also on occasion of their ascending those mountains, in the presence of a vast host of enemies.

It was late on the fourth day's march from the Zaco hills (making the 14th from the *Zabatus*), when the Greeks found a large body of the enemy in possession of certain heights, which commanded the road, in their front; (as we have observed in page 161); they having passed the Greeks in the night.* Tissaphernes, at the same time, appeared in sight with the main body; threatening their rear. Much generalship, gallantry, and exertion, were employed in dispossessing the enemy, by a detachment led by Xenophon in person: and they finally passed the eminence, which appears to have been another projection, from the greater mountains; and descended into the plain beyond it.† This plain was situated immediately

* Lib. III. c. 24.

† —" Xenophon observing the top of the mountain, that was above their own army, found there was a passage from that, to the hill, where the enemy was posted.—The enemy, who were upon the hill, the moment they saw them climb the mountain, advanced at the same time, striving to get there before them. Upon this occasion there

below the place where the steep and lofty mountains of the *Carduchians*, close on the bank of the Tigris; effectually barring the passage upwards, and thus preventing their tracing it, till it became fordable.* Here then they were totally at a stand: the river was found too deep to be forded; and the enemy appeared in force on the opposite bank: no doubt prepared for this circumstance, which *they* had foreseen, though the Greeks could not.

It may be concluded from the subsequent conduct of the enemy, that they never entertained an idea, that the Greeks would be able, or would even attempt, to scale the mountains; but conceived that they were completely entrapped; and that they had only to wait patiently the operation of famine, to make them surrender. It was no doubt to hasten this event, that Tissaphernes attempted to burn the villages, from whence they derived their provisions; the plain having many in it; and those abounding in the necessaries of life.

In this dilemma, a Rhodian proposed to waft 4000 men at a time, across the Tigris, on rafts formed on inflated skins; but this was over-ruled, as, however practicable in itself, it was incompatible with the general safety; the enemy's cavalry being in full possession of the opposite shore.†

was a vast shout raised both by the Greek army, and that of Tissaphernes, each encouraging their own men. At last the Greeks gained the top of the mountain, and prevented the enemy; upon which they fled every one as he could: and the Greeks remained masters of the eminence." (Lib. III. c. 24, 25, and 26.)

* "The Greeks came to the place where the river Tigris, is, both from its depth and breadth, absolutely impassable: and no road appeared; the craggy mountains of the *Carduchians* hanging over the river." (Lib. IV. at the beginning.)

† This shows a well peopled and flourishing country, if appearances warranted the existence of 2000 domestic animals within reach, around the camp; which the context supposes. (Lib. III. c. 27.)

It is said (in Lib. III. c. 27,) on occasion of the halt of the army, at the place where their progress was arrested by the overhanging cliffs; that the soldiers *retired to their tents*. But it is said, in the same book (c. 14), that they burned their *carriages* and *tents;* in consequence of a proposal made by Xenophon (in c. 12); who says truely, that "the tents were trouble-"some to carry, and of no use either in fighting or in supply-"ing them with provisions;" whence one may conclude that the word *tents* in this place, meant nothing more than their stations in the camp.

However, M. Larcher supposes, (Vol. I. p. 241) that they only burnt their *superfluous* tents. But he could not have considered the matter practically. Had tents been in general use (as this idea necessarily supposes), there could not well have been less than 1000, reckoning every description of them. Let it then be considered, what a space, the beasts of burthen requisite to transport them, (admitting that they possessed them) would have taken up, within the hollow square; where all the baggage must have been placed, in order to its immediate security; as well as to keep the sides of the square clear for action.

Doubtless, then, they adopted the plan of *bivouacing*, like the armies in Spain and other countries during the late war: and especially since the necessity was so much greater. So that the retiring of the troops to their *tents*, certainly meant only to their station in the *bivouac*.

Had they been possessed of tents, at the time when the *Rhodian* (Lib. III. c. 27) proposed his plan, he would rather have made use of *them*, than have hazarded the chance of being able to catch 2000 animals, and incur the certain labour of

flaying them. For, at *Carmande* (Lib. I. c. 25) the soldiers did actually use the skins of which their tents were made, for the purpose of constructing floats, to cross the *Euphrates*.*

On an examination of the prisoners, the Greek generals found that it was practicable to pass over the mountains into the territory of the CARDUCHIANS. (Lib. III. c. 28.) This nation, favoured by the natural strength of their country, had preserved their independence, in despite of the power of the great king. They are the ancestors of the modern KOURDS, who have extended themselves along the different ridges and vallies of mount *Taurus*, from Asia Minor to the neighbourhood of Ispahan: and who occupy the country named from themselves, KOURDISTAN.

Unfortunately, from the manner in which the Greeks entered their country, hey could only be received as enemies; but it was the only alternative left them: and provided they could force their way through it, they were told that they would soon arrive in the open and plentiful country of Armenia; from whence they might march which way soever they pleased. The certainty of escaping the cavalry of the enemy, was, no doubt, a strong inducement to attempt it.

But to ascend the mountains in the face of so vast a host of enemies, as were now collected together against them, would have been absolutely impracticable, had the enemy been the least aware of what was intended, and had made use of

* It may be remarked, that at *Cænæ*, at the Tigris, although previous to the destruction of the tents, it is only said that "the barbarians transported necessaries across the "river, upon rafts made of skins;" and not that the Greeks crossed over *themselves*, as at *Carmande*. This might well be owing to the different circumstances under which they *now* were; when every kind of caution might have become necessary.

common precautions, only; by getting before them, and seizing on commanding situations, from whence stones might be rolled down the steep face of the mountain. In such a case, there had been no mode of dislodging him, by the usual practice of ascending to a higher point, and attacking him from above. The ascending of the mountain, therefore, was a measure which required much delicacy in the execution: and the Greeks appear to have accomplished it, with their usual prudence, and address.

On the day preceding that of the ascent, they had *returned back* from their station near the cliffs, and quartered themselves in some fresh villages.* The enemy wondered what was intended by this movement, and were at a loss how to act. The Greek generals had not, at that time, examined the prisoners; nor, of course, determined on their future route; and as their return, must, from circumstances, have been by a track *more inland*, than that by which they came, it was fortunate that the enemy did not, from the direction of the movement, suspect a design, which the Greeks had not, at that time, even formed. It was thus executed:

From their new position (*i. e.* at the end of the 15th march,) the Greeks decamped, whilst enough of the night remained for them to traverse the plain, and to arrive at the foot of the mountains, unobserved: for on this concealment their existence, probably, depended. They had the good fortune, not only to arrive, unobserved, at the mountain foot; but even to escape the enemy's observation altogether, whilst it was in their power to annoy them, in ascending it. By this, it may be

* This movement may be reckoned their 15th march. It must be supposed, from circumstances, to have been very short.

concluded, that the plain was of no great breadth in that part: for they decamped about the last watch of the night, and were got above the enemy, and out of their reach, before they were observed. They, no doubt, took care to point their march across the plain, in such a direction, as not to approach the quarters of the enemy; and as we learn from Xenophon (see above, p. 161, note), that the Persian army, at the approach of night, always retired to some distance in the rear, to prevent surprises, it may be concluded that this very unmilitary custom greatly facilitated the enterprise. It also accounts for their not seeing the enemy, during the ascent. But it shows a total ignorance, or a total disregard of military knowledge, not, at least, to have stationed guards, that might have communicated an account of the motions of the Greeks. It is probable that the passage of the Tigris, was the only part, that was guarded or attended to.

Cheirisophus led the van, which was composed of all the light-armed troops; and Xenophon brought up the rear, with the heavy-armed: because it was expected that the opposition, if any, would be in front: and the light-armed seemed best adapted to the service of repelling such attacks as they were the most exposed to.

The path being narrow, and the mountain lofty and steep, the Greeks employed *the whole day* in the ascent, and in the descent into the villages, situated in the recesses of the summits of the mountains: for it was dark soon after they began to descend. The *Carduchians*, although few in number, from their being taken unawares, attacked the rear of the Greeks with stones and arrows, in their descent, and convinced them of their danger, had they given more warning of their approach.*

* Lib. IV. at the beginning.

The *Carduchians* fled from their villages, leaving plenty of provisions for the Greeks; which they were compelled, from necessity, to use; but forebore to plunder their houses, in hopes of conciliating them. They, notwithstanding, continued their hostilities: nor could it well be otherwise. A body of 12,000 men, with their attendants, who are either unable to pay for what they take; or having both the means and the will, yet if unable to establish a friendly intercouse with the natives, must of necessity be compelled to plunder, in order to preserve their existence: and must consequently be regarded as enemies, wheresoever they come. And this would have been the case, in the most fertile and civilized country upon earth; when food for an additional multitude, is suddenly demanded: but the inconvenience and distress to the natives, must have been much greater, in a poor and thinly inhabited country, like that of the *Carduchians*. So that these people were equally enemies to the Greeks, as to the Persians: to the latter, through hereditary hatred, and dread of conquest, or coercion: and to the former as plunderers; or for want of a proper explanation in the beginning; which the necessity of the case, by urging them to a sudden irruption, prevented. And this hatred was probably heightened, by their native ferocity.*

The choice, if it could so be called, of ascending the mountains, freed the Greeks from the pursuit of their old enemy, the Persians; who, doubtless, would not have quitted them, whilst their cavalry could act: and as the number of slain and

* If an explanation could have taken place, it would, no doubt, have been more for the interest of the *Carduchians* to have let the Greeks pass through their country in peace. They would have got rid of them in half the time; saved the lives of their friends; and at least half of the provisions; not to mention acts of violence, and destruction, that might have been prevented.

wounded increased, the Greeks must at last have sunk, through mere weakness. For the losses on the part of the Persians, however great in point of numbers, operated only as a check at the moment; and could with ease be repaired: but the losses of the Greeks, though small in respect of numbers, were of course irreparable: and being continually repeated, must at length, have destroyed them.

The Greeks had made fourteen marches from the *Zabatus;* besides moving their camp on the 15th. In the course of these marches, they were repeatedly compelled to fight their way; and were still oftener harassed, or menaced: they also made 6 halts by the way, in the midst of the enemy: so that they had been 21 days, in a most forlorn situation; struggling with difficulties of every kind. And had the Persians been alert, they might, by sending detachments of cavalry before them, have destroyed all the provisions in the line of march.

As the massacre of the generals is supposed to have taken place about the latter end of October (401 years before Christ) the Greeks would have ascended into this lofty region at the beginning of winter. Mr. Sullivan saw snow lying on these very mountains in the latter end of June.* The Greeks had no tents† or comforts of any kind, to alleviate the rigours of the season, having destroyed every article that did not administer to their defence, or to the simple calls of nature.

The *Carduchian* mountains, then, in effect, presented an asylum to the Greeks, who could no other way have escaped, at last, the reiterated attacks of such a host of enemies, whose numbers also were augmenting, instead of diminishing. But

* He got snow at Zaco: so that the inhabitants must have been in the habit of using it.

† See the note to page 142.

as a Persian army could not subsist, or their cavalry act, within the wide range of these mountains; the Greeks, by ascending them, got rid of their dreaded enemy. And although in the mean time, they had to contend with an enemy much more brave and persevering, their numbers were fewer; and they might reasonably expect an earlier escape from them, than from the Persians. Had they known that the Tigris was fordable under the Zaco hills,* and passed into *Mesopotamia*, they would still have been followed by the Persians: they would also have had the Euphrates to cross; a yet more difficult river, in the line which they must have pursued. Therefore, according to our limited view of things, it appears, that nothing less than such a barrier, as these mountains presented, could have saved the Greeks from eventual destruction, from the attacks of the Persians.

* Alexander, by the distance at which he passed the Tigris from the field of *Gaugamela* (or *Arbela*) must have forded it near the end of the Zaco ridge. There is a passage at that place, recorded by Hajy-Kalifa. (See again the Map, No. III.)

CHAPTER X.

CONCERNING THE CHANGE IN THE MILITARY DISPOSITION OF THE GREEKS, (Referred to from Chapter VIII.)

Observations on the Change in the Military Disposition, *and* Order *of* March, *of the retreating army; after the* fifth *march—Great difficulty in comprehending the entire meaning of* Xenophon, *respecting this Change; the passage being evidently corrupted—They appear to have changed the* equilateral *for an* oblong *square; as affording a greater facility of movement, and greater security to the rear—Concerning the import of the Grecian Military term* Lochos, *which appears to have been used in different senses, at different periods of time.*

It has been said, in pages 142 and 147, that the military disposition of the Greeks, on the march, was a hollow *equilateral* square, formed by the heavy-armed troops, or *phalanx;* with the baggage, &c. within it. And that as great inconveniences arose from this disposition, they changed it, after a trial of five days, to an *oblong* square: at the same time, making a new distribution of a certain portion of the troops, in order the better to provide for the safety of the rear. Xenophon thus describes the evils and the remedy.*

* Lib. III. c. 24. This passage has been translated by the Author's friend, Dr. Gillies.

" The form of a regular square now appeared to be a bad arrangement for a retreating army, in presence of an enemy. For when the wings of the square were to be closed, on account of the narrowness of the road; mountains obstructing them on either side; or a bridge to be crossed; the heavy-armed soldiers must of necessity be crowded, and squeezed out of their ranks; and thereby exposed to much danger: as the pressure and confusion would deprive them of the use of their weapons. When emerging from the strait, the wings were to be again expanded; the soldiers that were formerly crowded and pressed together, would of necessity be so far divided, and distracted, as to leave a void between the wings, which could not fail to discourage those nearest to the vacuity, when closely pursued by an enemy. Besides this, in approaching a bridge, or any very narrow defile, it was natural for the men to hasten eagerly, all striving to be amongst the foremost to get over; in which disorderly hurry, they might be assailed at great disadvantage. To obviate these inconveniences, the generals formed six companies of an hundred men each; setting captains over them: and these companies were divided into bands of fifty; and these again into bands of twenty-five: each band with its proper officer. The companies, marching thus appointed, when at any time the wings were to be closed, halted and remained behind; *so that the men in the wings might be no longer liable to compression or disorder.** The companies then

* This passage has also been given from high authority as follows:
—" so as not to be in the way of the flanks."

Larcher has,—" ne portoient point le trouble dans les bataillons, marchant à une " certaine distance des aîles."

But Spelman, " so as not to disorder the rear," &c. a meaning totally different from the others.

advanced and passed, altogether detached from the wings, and in such an arrangement as to fill up the vacancy left by their expansion: that is, in six bodies of 100 men each, when the vacancy was small; in twelve bodies of 50 each, when larger; and when very large, in twenty-four bodies of 25 each. The same contrivance obviated the danger that occurred in approaching a bridge, or any very narrow passage. For when these were to be crossed, there was no longer any cause for precipitation or hurry; since the companies, dividing themselves, according to local circumstances, passed over in succession; and were thus prepared to be useful in every part of the army, according to the exigency of the moment."

The text here, is, no doubt, corrupted; for this appears to be the universal opinion of all the readers of Greek: and very possibly, mutilated also. It would therefore be vain to seek the entire meaning from the *words* of the passage itself, as it now stands; and consequently, a part of the meaning must be obtained, if at all, from the reason of the thing.

The object in view, appears clearly to have been, the correction of *a faulty disposition;* which exposed them to great inconvenience and some loss: but neither is the cause explained with sufficient clearness, nor is the description of the mode of correcting it, (as it would appear,) free from corruptions. The evil is said to have arisen chiefly from the *equilateral form* of the square, which gave it *too extended a front;* and therefore it appears, they changed it for an *oblong* square, or *parallelogram*. Certain it is, that the disposition *still continued to be a square;* as may be learnt not only from the words of Xenophon (Lib. III. c. 22.) where he employs the term which signifies an *oblong* square, but from circumstances also. For

what purpose, principally, were the new companies formed, but to fill up the voids in the rear of that square? And it appears no less natural, than probable, that the oblong form should have been adopted; as the *equilateral* form, for a body of 10,000 men, presented too wide a front to make its way over ordinary ground: and a like extent of rear, seems to have made it difficult to close it up, *with the requisite dispatch*, whilst forming anew.*

The inconvenience stated to arise from the compression of the wings, or flanks, into an irregular column, through the occasional straitness of the ground, would have been common to every kind of square. But the evil which Xenophon lays the most stress on, was the difficulty of filling up, promptly, the openings in the rear, made by the separation of the wings, on occasion of forming the square *anew*, after coming out of a defile. For it appears that they were then subject to attacks from the enemy (his cavalry, probably), who broke in and took the flanks *in reverse*; and perhaps attacked the baggage

* It is worthy of remark, that neither Spelman, nor Larcher, mention the circumstance of the *oblong* square, in their *text*. Spelman says, "*the right of the square*;" Larcher, simply "*the right flank*:" although the original, (Lib. III. c. 22) has πλαὶσιον, or *oblong* square, in contradistinction to πλαὶσιον ἰσοπλευρον, or *equilateral* square, in c. 21. But M. Larcher, in a note on the equilateral square, in this last chapter, (vol. I. p. 225.) gives the Greek terms for both kinds of squares, although he omits the distinction of *oblong*, in its proper place, in the text. (See the distinction in the Tactics of Arrian.)

That the form of a square, although not equilateral, was still preserved, is proved, by Lib. III. c. 22, where the *light troops* are said to have sheltered themselves, *within the body* of *heavy armed*. Again, they are brought up, *from the right of the square*. And in c. 24, they are taken *from within the square*. All these transactions happened after the change of disposition.

also, which was of course exposed, through the same opening.* The mischief might probably be occasioned by certain troops of the enemy, who had previously placed themselves in the open country, into which the wings had just *debouched*, from the defile; and were waiting the separation of those wings, to cut in between them.

But here, it may naturally be asked, why the troops which composed the *rear face* of the square, under the old disposition, (and who must be supposed to have marched close to the rear of the wings,) could not have filled up the opening, as fast as it was made; by forming (as well as the wings), as they cleared the mouth of the defile? One cannot well comprehend how the companies, under the *new disposition*, could extricate themselves from a defile, with more celerity than the troops which composed the rear face of the square, under the *old* one: or that, what could have been done by the one, could not have been done by the other, in respect of *filling up a void*. The corps of the army in general were already divided into companies (or into divisions, equivalent to them); otherwise, of course, they would have been unmanageable, both in respect of discipline, and of manœuvres.† Therefore, it can only be supposed, that the newly formed companies (or rather

* One may suppose the following order of march to have taken place, through defiles, or narrow ground.

First, of course, the *front* of the square, in a column. Next, the baggage, with such a proportion of the light troops, intermixed with it, as might have been deemed necessary for its protection. Then the *wings* or *flanks*, either collectively, in one column; or separately, following each other; as the ground would permit. And lastly, the *rear* of the square, under the *first* disposition: and under the *improved* disposition, the *newly formed companies*; which probably answered the same purpose.

† These permanent companies were of 50 men each. (Lib. I. c. 9; and IV. c. 16.)

divisions) must have been in some respects differently constituted from the others; and that a part of the text is wanting, which might have explained it.

That the square, in its original state, was entire; that is, that it *had a rear face*, cannot reasonably be questioned: any more than that it consisted throughout, of *heavy-armed men*. (See Lib. III. c. 13, 20, 21.) For, unless it had been closed up, on every side, it would not have *answered the description* of a hollow square; nor would the army and baggage have been safe, a moment, closely surrounded as they were, by the numerous cavalry of the enemy,

What extent of *front* and *rear*, the *oblong* square might have had, cannot be known. The 600 men of the newly formed companies, cannot be supposed to have been adequate to form a rear face; since a depth of five ranks, is the least that can be reckoned on: for Polybius informs us, that in the order of the Macedonian phalanx, five ranks presented their pikes to the front. The six companies then, would only have given a front of 120 files: too narrow, as well as too weak, to resist the attacks of a powerful enemy; and for a rear closely pressed. So narrow a front, would have rendered their disposition of a *square*, almost nugatory. It has been already supposed (page 143,) that their order was *eight* deep, generally, throughout the square; since their numbers were such as to allow it; and at the same time to allow a sufficient extent to the fronts, and of space within the hollow of the square.

If it be supposed that under the new arrangement, the *oblong* square was formed with a breadth equal to half the length, the front and rear would have had somewhat more

than 200 files in each.* This may have been the greatest breadth allowed, at any time; and it may have been contracted, as circumstances required. But still, unless the area within, had a considerable degree of breadth, it would not have afforded the space, requisite. It was to contain all the public stores, and private baggage, of the army; the sick and wounded; the followers of both sexes; the spare horses, and probably cattle for slaughter, &c. &c. The beasts of burthen, and cattle alone, must have occupied a very considerable space.† And finally, room must have been left, sufficient to admit the whole of the light-armed troops, on an emergency: and these must have been more than 2000, at that time. The *oblong* square, formed on the above proportions, would have presented a *front* of about 120 yards: but when in motion, would have extended its *flanks* to the length of nearly a quarter of a mile.

If it could be supposed, that there is an error in the *number* of the new companies; and that, instead of *six*, there might have been enough to form a *rear face* of sufficient depth, to the oblong square; a plausible hypothesis might be offered. For, in that case, many doubts would be removed; and in particular, that very perplexing one, respecting the *variation* in the *extent* of the *opening*, left in the rear. For, if it be supposed, that by the new disposition, the wings were only to separate to such an extent, as would suit the ground, on which they

* Arrian has a specimen of a square of these proportions, in his Tactics: With a front of 200 and a depth of 8, *sixteen* companies would have been required, instead of *six*.

† The *Rhodian* who required 2000 skins for floats, appears to have reckoned upon nearly as many *girths* of sumpter horses, to fasten them with. (Lib. III. c. 27.)

were forming, and about to march over, (which to the author appears not improbable,) the extent of the opening, or in other words, that of the rear face of the square, would then vary with circumstances. And it might probably have been the system, according to the idea of Dr. Gillies,* to dispose the companies in such a way as to fill up the opening, by adapting the depth to the front required; so as to employ the whole force: and which appears to have been necessary; as no part of it could with safety have remained on the outside of the square, whilst closely pursued. And as the *depth* of the companies, so disposed, must necessarily have increased with the *diminution* of their *front*, this may have given occasion to that part of the description, which in its present state, seems to many persons, so much like a paradox.

It is not necessary to suppose, that at the *moment* of filling up the void, *all* the companies should have been formed of an equal depth; but rather that they fell in, in such a way, as to occupy the whole space with the greatest expedition. For, as the extent of front required, might not be known, when they *began* to fill up the *void;* neither, of course, could the depth, which depended on the extent of that front, be known. It is probable that the companies, at the first, fell in, in the columns, in which they had been previously marching: and afterwards extended their fronts, as it became necessary.

It may be concluded with certainty, that their improved disposition was calculated *chiefly* to combine the advantage of such an extent of front, as might be reckoned secure; with that which afforded a facility of movement. And also to provide for the safety of the rear, under particular circumstances.

* History of Greece, Vol. III. p. 214, Octavo Ed.

But at the same time Xenophon *describes* no other alteration, than that of forming the new companies: (for the change in the *form* of the square, is only mentioned *incidentally*:) and he observes, that after this measure was adopted, there was no longer any confusion of the kind that had before taken place.*

If then, the Author's supposition be admitted, the newly formed companies (whatsoever their number may have been) are to be regarded as the constituent parts of the *rear face* of the *oblong square*. For, as it is said that "when the wings "were to be *closed*, these companies halted, and remained in "the rear; so that the men in the wings might be no longer "liable to compression or disorder," it ought of course to be inferred, that at other times they marched *with them*; by which we should understand that they formed the rear of the square.

A difficulty however occurs, respecting an inconvenience which is stated to have existed under the *old disposition*; but which was removed by the formation of the new companies. It was, that "when they were approaching a bridge, or any "other strait passage, each soldier would hasten to be amongst "the foremost to get over:" and thus occasion disorder. But that subsequent to the improved disposition, "there was no "longer any cause for precipitation; since the companies, "divided according to local circumstances, passed in succes-"sion." If this refers to the army at large, it is difficult to be understood; although perfectly intelligible, if it refers to the rear alone.

* One can hardly account for the omission, in the text, of the circumstance of the change in the form of the square, on any other ground, than that of the passage having been mutilated.

But it must be acknowledged, that the *text*, as it stands, *does seem* to have a reference to the army in general: and accordingly, some highly respectable authorities have supposed, that the evil, arising from the hurry and confusion, described to have prevailed, at the entrance into any narrow passage; as well as the remedy applied to it; extended to the army at large. But it does not appear to the author, how any part of the army, except the rear of the wings, or the rear of the square itself, could be exposed to attacks, from an enemy in close pursuit; any more than how the *army in general* could be benefited by a body of men, whose services appear to have been confined to a particular part of it. Therefore, when it is said that the newly formed companies were always prepared "to be useful in every part of the army, according to the exi-"gency of the moment," this could only have been, if at all, during the interval of time, when the square was *compressed:* but surely it appears more probable that the passage is corrupted; since it involves a contradiction, in respect of the main facts. For let it only be considered, that this body of men had a specific duty to perform, in filling up the voids in the rear: so that their absence, even for a short space, might have been productive of the greatest mischief.

Nor does the narrative describe any Change, but what relates to *the rear of the square:* that is, to the new companies, which were said to have marched in the *rear of the wings*, whenever the square was compressed into a column.

It is possible, that the new companies, subdivided as they were into small bodies, each under the eye of a particular officer, may have been kept in better marching order: and, in consequence, that the pressure and confusion incident to the

hurried march of a large body of troops, on approaching a defile, may have been prevented: but it cannot well be understood to apply to any part, save the rear.

It must be acknowledged, however, that after all the suppositions that have been hazarded, much is still wanting, towards a clear understanding of the subject.

Concerning the Greek Military Term LOCHOS; *and its different Applications.*

Since the term LOCHOS is applied by Xenophon indifferently to a *permanent* company of a battalion, or regiment; and to a *division* appointed for special services: and as the term is used by other historians, in senses totally different from the former, and also from each other; it may be proper, in this place, to say a word respecting the modes in which the term has been applied.

It appears to the author, that it has been too much the practice to confound together, the different systems of the PHALANX, which prevailed in different ages: as for instance, the phalanx of the *Lacedæmonians*, at the date of the *Peloponnesian* war; with the *Macedonian* phalanx of Alexander and of Perseus. For these, although agreeing perfectly in principle, and in general effect, differed considerably in the detail of their establishments; as in the instance of the *lochos* and *lochagos*, which, in the time of Thucydides, were terms which meant respectively, a battalion, and its commander, or colonel; but which Arrian applies to a *single file* of the phalanx, and its *leader!*

The term *lochos* would appear to intend, in its general acceptation, a DIVISION: and to have been applied, at different times, as well to a *division* of an *army*, as of a *battalion;* and even to that of a *company*. Accordingly, the *lochos* of Thucydides (referring particularly to the date of the battle of *Mantinea*, 422 B. Christ) is, as we have said, a battalion;* that of Xenophon, little more than 20 years afterwards, is a company, or other division of a battalion; and that of Ælian and Arrian, referring to times, down to 250 years after Xenophon, is a *single file* of sixteen men; or as many as constituted the depth of their order of battle. Therefore, without entering any further into a comparison of the systems, we may be allowed to consider the *lochos* described by Xenophon, as the one which is alone applicable to the subject of the *Anabasis;* and regard it, whether *permanent* or *casual*, as a division of a battalion.

According to the manner in which this term is used, on two different occasions in the *Anabasis*, the import of it, is that of a *permanent* division of a battalion, or corps; formed for the purpose of facilitating the inspection, and for the internal œconomy and government, of the individuals of it; agreeing with the modern idea of a *company*.

* Thucydides (lib. v.) gives the following numbers for the divisions of a *lochos* or *battalion*:

The *lochos* consisted of 512 men; under a commander (or colonel) styled *lochagos*.

The *lochos* was formed into 4 *pentacosties*, or companies, of 128 men, each under a *pentecontateres*, or captain.

The *pentacosty* consisted of 4 *enomatiæ* (or *platoons*) each of 32 men, drawn up 8 deep, and with a front of 4: the front rank formed of *select* men (similar, perhaps, to the *lochagi* of Arrian). The commanders of these platoons were styled *enomatarchi*.

*** One may conclude, from the term applied to the companies, that 50 had been the *original* strength of a company; as those of the Romans having been originally of 100 (though afterwards more than doubled) gave the title of *centurion* to the commander.

In lib. I. c. 9; and in IV. c. 16; the term *lochos* must be understood to apply directly to a *permanent* division, into companies; and 50* is the number given in both places. In the first, Menon is said to have lost *two companies* of his army, amounting to 100 men, heavy armed; in crossing mount *Taurus*. And in the other, at the crossing of the river *Centrites*, the commanders of companies are directed "to divide their com-"panies into two distinct bodies of 25 men each; and to extend "their front, &c."

But the same term *lochos* is also employed in the Anabasis, to express certain divisions, formed for special, or occasional services; and without any reference to the permanent distribution, into companies; whose individual strength, as such, might have been insufficient for the purposes intended. There are also *two* occasions, where this occurs.

The first of these is the before-mentioned one of the 6 companies† (Lib. III. c. 21), formed for the security of the rear of the square. And in the other (Lib. IV. c. 44), the whole line of the phalanx was divided into *lochi*, of nearly 100 men each; and formed into *columns*, for the attack of the *Colchian* mountains.

As in the first of the two instances, they are said to have *formed* companies of 100 men each, it must be concluded, of course, that no such description of companies, already existed, as a permanent establishment. And in the latter instance, it may be supposed, that after having decided upon making the

* Here the companies are again composed of the number, which originally impressed on them the name of *fifties*; although they had previously arisen to 128.

† Or, as many as might have been formed; admitting that the number *six* is a corruption.

attack with separate columns, they threw the line into as many *divisions*, as there were *columns* required; and which would have been determined, necessarily, by the extent of front to be attacked; and the force required to make the desired impression, on the points attacked. Thus it appears, that about 100 was determined to be a proper strength for each column: and this was of course without any reference to their original establishment of companies; although they might possibly have formed each of the new divisions, out of two of the old companies.

Xenophon, then, appears to intend, by *lochi*, certain divisions of a battalion, or corps; whether *permanent*, like our companies, or *casually* formed, for *special services;* in which latter case, they appear to have been formed of the requisite degree of strength, for the occasion; and consequently of arbitrary numbers. The disposition for the attack of the *Colchian* mountains, furnishes an instance of this kind: and it may be remarked, that the strength of the whole column united, being required here, nothing is said respecting a *subdivision* of the companies into *fifties* or *twenty-fives*, for the purpose of extending the front, when necessary; as at the passage of the *Centrites*. And it appears to the author, that the measure of dividing the companies at the *Centrites*, for the purpose of extending the front, throws some faint light on the disposition of the companies; in filling up the voids in the rear of the square.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE ASCENT OF THE CARDUCHIAN MOUNTAINS, TO THE DESCENT INTO ARMENIA.

Difficulty of tracing the route of the Greeks, *from their uppermost station on the* Tigris, *to* Trebisonde—*General Observations on the Geography of their Route—Its direction appears to have been determined by casual circumstances, until they were far advanced into* Armenia—*The* Greek system *of* Geography *at that day, likely to mislead them, in their attempt to reach their* Colonies *on the* Euxine—*Remarks on the Geography of their Route across the* Carduchian *Territory*—Pass *of* Bedlis—*Force their way through the* Carduchian *mountains, by dint of* continued exertion *and* valour—*Nature of their Military* Disposition *and* Warfare, *totally different from that during the former part of the retreat—Further reduction of the* baggage *and* followers—*Bravery and determined obstinacy of the Enemy—Historical particulars relating to the* Carduchians—*The* Greeks *descend into the plains of* Armenia, *and cross (not without difficulty), the river* Centrites; *which appears to have been that, which passed by* Tigranocerta; *or* Seert.

HAVING now brought the GREEKS within the region of the *Carduchians*, it may not be useless, previous to the attempt to

follow them across it, to enquire concerning their plan of proceeding, in respect of the remaining part of their route: and whether the direction of it, was not dictated as much by necessity, as by judgment and choice.

It is not possible to follow the Ten Thousand, *geographically*, through the whole of their retreat, between the place where they ascended the *Carduchian* mountains, and *Trebisonde;* in which they employed, in marching only, about 66 days (according to the history), in order to accomplish a distance of less than 300 British miles, in a straight line; and certainly less than 400, by the road: but then, they wandered during about 3 weeks, between the Euphrates, and the Harpasus rivers, after they had lost their guide.

It appears, however, that to a point, several marches *beyond* the Euphrates,* they kept nearly to the line of the ordinary road towards Trebisonde; and that, bating the delay occasioned by the continued warfare in the mountains; and by the deep snows, newly fallen, near the Euphrates; their progress was at the ordinary rate of marching. And this includes an interval of more than 20 days; chiefly during the month of December.

But from the place where the guide left them, they have left no mark to guide us; as certainly wanting such themselves: no one therefore can undertake to delineate their track; any more than that of a ship, in which no reckoning has been kept. Although the rivers *Phasis* and *Harpasus* may be recognised, in modern geography, yet the time *said* to be employed in marching between them, and in the neighbourhood

* That is the Murad, or *eastern* branch, which rises in the quarter of *Bayazid*; and is the Euphrates of Xenophon.

of the former, appears too great: and nothing more can be collected, than the *general outline* of the tract within which they wandered. Therefore, the time, as well of the reader, as of the geographer, would be unprofitably spent, should it be attempted to describe in detail, the track of the Greeks, after the guide left them. For even if the most exact survey of the ground was procured, the marches could not be traced on it, for want of objects to refer to, from the history: although the rivers and mountains may perhaps assist in forming an idea of the *limits* of the *tract*, within which their wandering was confined.

It may be conceived that the best informed amongst those Greeks, had general ideas of the geography, and outlines of the countries, inclosed between the Mediterranean, Euxine, and Caspian seas: and which must have been somewhat improved by their recent experience. But since the battle of *Cunaxa*, they had been led by so circuitous a route, that before they entered Armenia, it is probable that they could not form any distinct idea of the line of direction, in which any of their colonies on the Euxine, lay.*

After their arrival in Armenia, there is no direct intimation given, concerning the plan of their route: but as they were told by the guides, before they ascended the mountains, that "when they should arrive in Armenia, they might, without difficulty, march which way soever they pleased;" and as after their arrival there, they chose the northern road, it may be

* It would appear, however, that in a matter which depended on his *own* observation, Xenophon was tolerably exact, when he states the distance of the *Zabatus* from *Iönia*, at about ten thousand stadia; after they had made a *circuitous* march of more than 19 thousand to the *Zabatus*. (See the note to page 137).

presumed that they had laid aside their plan of going immediately towards *Lydia* and *Iönia*, because the continuation of mount *Taurus* (in that quarter, named *Niphates*, doubtless from its snowy summits;) obstructed their passage; as it runs in a northerly or north-west direction, for nearly a degree. They accordingly struck to the north, through the plains; perhaps because that road offered an easy passage, and a fair prospect of subsistence; objects of the greatest importance at all times; but now in appearance rendered absolutely necessary, from the long continued hardships that they had endured; from the number of wounded and disabled men; and from the near approach of the severe weather, experienced in the country of Armenia.* And that having been induced by these circumstances to proceed a great way to the northward; and perhaps thinking themselves farther advanced than they really were (which is often the case); they formed the resolution of pushing for the Grecian colonies on the Euxine sea. But no design of this kind, is declared, at the commencement of the retreat: and it was probably adopted after they had crossed the Euphrates, and were arrived amongst a people who had some knowledge of those colonies.†

It is certain, however, that Diodorus says, (lib. xiv.) that having elected new generals, they set out from the *Zabatus* for *Paphlagonia* (meaning probably *Sinope* or *Amisus*, situated in that country). And this may *possibly* have been their

* There is at present a caravan road; and probably there was, at that time, a great road, leading from the quarter of Bedlis, northward, through Armenia. This must have pointed very much in the direction taken by the Greeks.

† The speech of Xenophon at the attack of the *Colchian* mountains, implies that they had *long* designed to proceed to Trebisonde; but the phrase is only *comparative*.

intention; considering it as an intermediate point of rest in their way to *Iönia:* for the *almost immeasureable length of way* from *Assyria* to *Iönia*,* to men, circumstanced as they were, must have appalled even the Greeks! Diodorus, who evidently had recourse to other materials, besides the Anabasis, may perhaps have collected this fact from them.

Nor does the idea collected from Xenophon *contradict* Diodorus. He represents that the Greeks at the commencement of their retreat (from the *Zabatus*), intended to trace the course of the Tigris, upwards, until they came to a fordable part. And it appears to have been equally their intention to arrange their marches, so as to cross the Euphrates (which they probably supposed to consist of a single stream), in the like manner; as the only mode of overcoming the difficulties, presented by those rivers. And perhaps, their return to *Iönia* might afterwards have been facilitated, by taking *Amisus* or *Sinope*, or both of them, in their way.

But the close pursuit of the enemy to the time of their arrival at the foot of the *Carduchian* mountains, confined their attention merely to the objects of *defence* and *subsistence:* otherwise they might, had they been so inclined, have forded the Tigris, as Alexander afterwards did, between Nineveh and the foot of the *Carduchian* mountains. The truth, however, is, that they never thought of crossing the Tigris, until the apparently greater obstacle of the *overhanging* mountains, compelled them to try it, as an alternative. And in that part, as we have seen, it was found too deep. But, as it has been already

* Taken above (page 137) roundly at about a thousand British miles, from the *Zabatus* to *Ephesus*. And very nearly as much to *Byzantium*.

remarked it would have been the most unsafe course they could have taken.

It may not be improper in this place, to remark, that the geography of the Greeks, at the date of Herodotus, and which may doubtless be applied to the time of Xenophon,* extended the Euxine very much further to the east, than the truth; at the same time that they reckoned the peninsula of Asia Minor, very much too narrow.† The effect of this would have been, of course, to induce a belief in Xenophon, that the Grecian colonies in question were much more to the *south-east*, than they really were: so that it is not improbable, that he supposed Trebisonde to lie directly to the *north*, when he crossed the Euphrates, although it really lay to the *north-west*.

Xenophon reckons in the aggregate, 7 marches through the *Carduchians'* country: but we cannot make out more than 5 marches, and 2 halts. Possibly the space of 7 days was intended to express the whole time of their being within the territory. Diodorus also says, that they passed through the mountains in 7 days. But whether they made 5 or 7 marches, the progress forward, could not be great. "They were con-" tinually fighting; and suffered more than from all the at-" tempts of the king and Tissaphernes." (Lib. IV. c. 11.) Add to this, the roughness of the country, and the necessity

* Scarcely a generation later: both were probably living, at the same time.

† Herodotus reckoned the *Isthmus* to be 5 journies only, across: but it is more than 4 degrees. Eratosthenes allows 3000 stades, which is nearly the truth. Pliny nearly 100 Roman miles too little. Again, Herman Moll was right; and M. D'Anville erred about a degree on the same side with Herodotus.

of often halting, to defend themselves by the way: besides, under such circumstances, they would regard the *quality* of the road, more than its absolute line of *direction*, when closely pressed; and this would also have the effect of lessening their progress forwards.

It must moreover, be recollected, that the Greeks *traced back* a small portion of their route, near the Tigris, on the 15th day; when they were about to ascend the mountain. This will also operate to reduce the line of distance, between their uppermost station on the Tigris, and the river *Centrites*, the northern boundary of the Carduchians' territory. And it is probable, that, when all the above allowances and deductions, are made, that the line of distance from the station on the Tigris, to the *Centrites*, short as it may appear, was not more than 28 G. miles, direct. The line of direction was probably north-eastward; both because it was the shortest line by which they could reach the plains of Armenia; and that it also leads through a valley, which seems to answer to one described by Cartwright, in the quarter of Cochakan; and which lies in that direction.*

According to the geographical construction, they must have descended the mountains, about midway between Sered or Seert (taken for *Tigranocerta)* and Bedlis; in which quarter, the two ridges of *Taurus*, named *Niphates* and *Masius*, by their junction, form a very wide belt of mountains, generally named from their inhabitants, the *Kourds*, who are the descendants of

* See Cartwright's, or the *Preacher's* Travels, in Purchas's Collection of Voyages; Vol. II. This is the line of the caravan route, between Diyarbekir and Tabriz; *crossing* that of the Ten Thousand.

The valley and town spoken of by Xenophon, occurs in Lib. IV. c. 10.

the *Carduchians* of antiquity. A description of the tract is given by Cartwright, and also by Taverniere; both of whom travelled through it, from west to east, in the line between Seert and Bedlis: as the Greeks appear to have done from south-west to north-east, intermediately between those places. It contains many fertile and beautiful vallies; and some of the mountain sides, are extremely well wooded. No mention is made of snow, by Xenophon: although at the end of November. Mr. Sullivan saw it on the *summits* fronting the Tigris, in June; but it was probably confined to the summits: and it appears that the first snow noticed by Xenophon, fell in the plains of Armenia, about 9 days after the Greeks had left the mountains.*

The passes leading through this region, from *Mesopotamia* into *Armenia*, are so difficult of access, and so easily defended, that the chief of Bedlis, a large town, situated at the opening of the strongest of the passes, in the road from Diyarbekir to Wan and Tabriz, derives much consequence from his local situation, in the eyes of the PORTE.

The march of the Greeks through this mountainous territory, presents a scene of continued labour, exertion, and valour. It is probable, however, that it is often passed over by that class of readers, who attend most to those parts of history, in which brilliant actions, comprised in short descriptions, are not likely to fatigue the attention. The march in question affords a variety of military stratagems, and displays much character. And although as a history, it *appears* to be little more than a narrative of the manner of passing the summits of mountains; and to have much of sameness in it; yet, if it

* Heavy rain fell, during their passage over the mountains. Lib. IV. c. 7.

be analyzed, much variety will be found, in the different modes of getting possession of them: as well as in that of forcing their way through the difficult passages, generally. Many of these are well worth the attention and remembrance of military men; and it is not the least to say of them, that they were thought worthy of being recorded by Xenophon.

We cannot help comparing the laborious and hazardous interval spent by the Greeks in the Carduchian mountains, with the state of Captain Cook, and his crew, in the Endeavour, whilst engaged in the intricate, and imminently dangerous navigation, amongst the reefs and shallows of New Holland. These long continued perils, are feelingly spoken of, by that GREAT NAVIGATOR, at their conclusion: but it is to be feared that very many, if not most, readers, turn over those leaves, without attending to their contents: chiefly, because a want of knowledge of sea affairs, renders them incapable of estimating the degree of danger, fatigue, and anxiety, that prevailed, during an interval of six weeks.*

When the Greeks had ascended into the Carduchian territory, they soon found that their future order of march, must necessarily be the very reverse of that, which in the open country below, had, so successfully, resisted the rapid and sudden attacks of the Persian cavalry. In the narrow passages of the mountains, they could no longer concentrate, either their military force, or their baggage. The paucity, and dispersed state of the inhabitants, rendered provisions scarce, and even that scanty supply, became precarious; because the inhabitants dwelt in situations difficult of access. The nature of the country also converted the roads into passes; and the

* See Captain Cook's Voyage, in Dr. Hawkesworth's Collection, Vol. II.

summits of the mountains into citadels; which commanded the ascent on both sides, by the simple operation of rolling down stones. In every sense then, it was a war of posts. Nor were the enemy formidable only, through their natural defences; their arrows of two cubits length, discharged from bows of nearly 3 cubits; and in which operation the left foot had a principal share, pierced the shields and corslets of the Greeks: and, in one instance, completely transfixed a man's head.

The first object of the Greek generals, was to reduce the baggage, and the attendants on the army.* After this, they forced their way, either by sending detachments by circuitous ways, to surprise and dispossess the enemy of the *passes* and *summits*, or by open attack. In every instance they were successful: but the enemy were often nimble enough to return to the summit, in time to disturb the rear, in their descent. It was fortunate, that they were not more numerous. The *Cretan* bowmen were of the greatest service, here, although they had been less regarded in the plains, against the Persian cavalry, who were enabled to choose their distance.

Xenophon sums up the history of their warfare in these mountains, in the following manner. They were then arrived at the end of the Carduchian's territory. (Lib. IV. c. 11).

"This day they staid in the villages situated above the

* Although at the commencement of the retreat, they had reduced the baggage to a scale of mere necessity, as it respected their personal habits and œconomy; yet, the nature of the country, here, requiring a closer order of march; and the difficulty of obtaining provisions, inducing the necessity of lessening the consumption of them; the number of sumpter horses was reduced, and all the slaves recently taken were dismissed. By this arrangement another advantage was likewise gained: for the men who had the charge of them, now augmented the number of the combatants.

" plain, that extends to the river *Centrites*.—Here they staid " with great satisfaction, having plenty of provisions: and " often calling to mind the difficulties they had undergone: " for during the 7 days, they had marched through the coun- " try of the *Carduchians*, they were continually fighting, and " suffered more than from all the attempts of the king and " Tissaphernes. Looking upon themselves, therefore, as " freed from these hardships, they rested with pleasure. But " as soon as it was day, they saw a body of horse, on the " other side of the river, completely armed, and ready to op- " pose their passage; and *above* the horse, another of foot, " drawn up, upon an eminence, to hinder them from pene- " trating into *Armenia*." This accordingly was a fresh source of disquiet; for on descending to the river side, (6 or 7 stadia only, from the mountains,) it was found too deep to be conveniently forded, in the line of the road; and the *Carduchians* were collecting in great numbers, on the eminence which the Greeks had quitted.

The next day, however, a convenient ford was discovered: and having, with great address, baffled all the attempts of the enemy, on both sides of the river, they passed it, with very little damage. And having crossed the valley through which it flowed, and ascended the eminence beyond it,* they came into the plains of *Armenia*: in which, for a considerable interval, they marched forward, relieved both from hostility, and

* It appears, therefore, that there was a ridge of hills, or rather *rise*, beyond the *Centrites*, which flowed through a valley adjacent to the foot of the *Carducbian* mountains: moreover, that the summit of the *rise*, was the commencement of the plains of Armenia; and the valley, most probably worn down from the level of those plains, by the river.

great bodily fatigue; and accommodated with provisions in abundance. What a change of circumstances!

Although they were again entered into the dominions of the great king, yet they had now, only the proper force of Armenia, opposed to them: the nature and extent of the mountainous tract, which they had just quitted, effectually preventing the Persian army from penetrating it.

Xenophon gives the following historical fact, concerning the *Carduchians*, on the report of the Persian prisoners.

"That they were a warlike nation, and not subject to the "king [of Persia]: and that once, the king's army, con-"sisting of 120,000 men, penetrated into their country; from "whence not one of them returned; the roads being hardly "passable." (Book III. at the end.)

Plutarch informs us that Artaxerxes, (the same, against whom the expedition of Cyrus was undertaken) afterwards marched into the country of the *Carduchians*, at the head of a vast army of horse: and that this army had, in all probability, perished through famine, had not Teribazus, governor of Armenia, procured a peace.

It is an error to suppose that the posterity of these Carduchians, were the PARTHIANS who subverted the throne of the SELEUCIDÆ; and who defeated Crassus. The Parthians came from the province of that name, beyond the Caspian sea; and established a dynasty in Persia, at large. And those who defeated Crassus, were PERSIANS, under the government of that PARTHIAN dynasty. The practice of shooting arrows backwards in retreating, was as much Persian as Parthian; as we learn from the Anabasis (Lib. III. c. 15); although very commonly referred to the Parthians alone; perhaps,

because it was so fatally experienced by the Roman army, under Crassus.

It appears highly probable that the *Centrites* of Xenophon is the same with that, described by Hajy Kalifa, and other oriental geographers, as the river of Bedlis; as originating from, or passing very near to, that place, which has been so much celebrated on the score of its *pass*. (See above, page 196.) Hajy Kalifa conducts the river of Bedlis through the plain, to the southward of Seert, Sard, or Sered (the ancient *Tigranocerta)* situated within the great valley of Diyarbekir. It is by no means certain, however, that the river of Bedlis, is also the river of *Tigranocerta*, anciently called the *Nicephorius;* but that it passes through the plain, to the southward of it; for another, but smaller river, is said, by the same authority, to join the river of Bedlis, in that quarter; as will presently appear.

Again Hajy Kalifa says, that the river of Bedlis passes near *Kala Zerke*, situated also *in the plain.* Here then we obtain for certain, a point in the general course of this river, below the mountains: for *Zerke* occurs in a caravan route of M. Taverniere, at the distance of one stage to the eastward of Seert; (which is easily recognised in the Ziarat of that traveller:) and at a like distance to the westward of *Cochacan*, taken above, (page 195,) for the town and valley, in which the Greeks found themselves so much at their ease, when they had nearly accomplished their passage through Kourdistan. Zerke was also three caravan stages short of Bedlis itself. So that the river of Bedlis certainly passes at one caravan journey eastward from Seert; having then freed itself from the *Carduchian* mountains; and proceeding still more to the

west, or south-west, advances to the neighbourhood of Seert, and is there joined by a smaller river, which may possibly be that of *Tigranocerta;* as the *Nicephorius* seems to have been too easily forded by the army of Lucullus, to answer to the *Centrites.*

It appears then, that the river of Bedlis certainly penetrates the great body of the *Carduchian* mountains: as also, that it appears to be the same with the Centrites or Kentrites, of Xenophon. And although it may at first sight, appear improbable that so small a body of water, should sap so vast a mass of mountains; yet the fact is, that although the Greeks descended from those mountains, to the river, the descent towards Armenia is small, compared with the ascent from the side of *Mesopotamia:* and this may at once be understood by the circumstances of the case. The whole descent, that is, the whole length of the *slope*, was only 6 or 7 stadia: whereas the Greeks employed a whole day in the ascent; probably equal to 10 or 12 times the length of the other. Consequently the level of Armenia, must be very greatly elevated above that of Mesopotamia; and of course, the river of Bedlis must run on a very considerable declivity, to the Tigris.

The *Centrites* was said to be 200 feet in breadth. M. D'Anville supposed the river Khabour (of Armenia) to be the *Centrites;* but Hajy Kalifa says, that the Khabour flows by Zaco: so that this latter answers to the Kurnib of Sestini, which comes from Amadieh in Kourdistan; and is perfectly distinct from the river of Bedlis.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM THE CARDUCHIAN MOUNTAINS, TO THE VILLAGES OF SHELTER AND REFRESHMENT, BEYOND THE EUPHRATES.

The TEN THOUSAND *proceed* northward *through* western Armenia, *a beautiful Tract—Arrive at a point* beyond *the head of the* Tigris—*Geography of the Route, between the* Centrites *and the* Euphrates—*Cross the* Teleboas, *the* Arsanius *of* Lucullus; *a beautiful stream—Arrive at the* first villages of refreshment, *south of the Euphrates; supposed to be* Yezidkoi—First snow *of the winter—Petty warfare with the* Satrape *of* Armenia—*Enquiry into the position of the source of the* Murad, *or* Eastern Euphrates—*The Greeks ford it, in the district of the* Chaoi, *taken for* Khanoos—*Arrive at the* second villages of refreshment, *to the* north *of the* Euphrates—Dreadful sufferings *of the Grecian army, from* cold *and* privations—*Their lives preserved, by the* shelter *and* food, *afforded by these villages* —Armenian winter houses *described.*

FROM the *Centrites*, it appears that the Greeks marched *northwards:* and in 3 marches, according to Xenophon, they were advanced "above the head of the Tigris."* But the river

* The reader is again referred to the Map No. II. for the geography of the retreat, after ascending the *Carduchian* mountains.

intended in this place, is not the one which either the Romans or the moderns, have regarded as the proper Tigris: for this springs from a place very far to the westward of the city of Diyarbekir; and so near to the course of the Euphrates of Xenophon (that is, the Murad) that *two* marches would have carried them from the one to the other; whereas, they made no less than *ten*, from the station in question: not to mention that the *Teleboas* river lay between. That head of the Tigris meant by Xenophon, was probably the remote eastern one, named Arzen, by the oriental geographers. Xenophon spoke of the only Tigris known to him: and which was perhaps pointed out to him, because that having got *beyond* it, the Greeks might, if they had been so inclined, have directed their course more to the west. And hence it had become an object of enquiry, and of attention, to them.* And for a like reason, the eastern branch alone, of the Euphrates (the Murad) was known to them.

On crossing the *Centrites* the Greeks were said to have entered the *western part of Armenia*; described to be a country of "plains, intermixed with hills of an easy ascent." And this description seems to apply to the whole tract, till within 3 marches of the Euphrates: that is, an extent of ten marches from the *Centrites*. At this point, a chain of hills, or a lower order of mountains, occurred; in which was a pass, through which the road led; and where Teribazus, the Satrape of the country, took post, in order to oppose the passage of the

* No branch whatsoever of the Tigris could, at this time, have interfered with their route, which lay very wide of that river. But perhaps, their thoughts had been so long bent on the measure of passing over the Tigris, to the westward; that the idea still occupied their minds, although the state of things was totally changed.

Greeks.* However, he was himself surprised and defeated; such was the close intelligence and active vigilance of the Greeks: and this was the only hostility that occurred, from the time of their leaving the Carduchian territory, to their encountering the united forces of the *Chaldæans*, (or *Chalybians*,) *Taöchians*, and *Phasians*, at two marches beyond the river called *Phasis*, by Xenophon; but truely the upper part of the *Araxes*.

From the pass just mentioned, to the Euphrates, in distance 3 marches, the country was said to be a desert; but was then covered with snow: and beyond the river, (*i. e.* to the *northward*) plains, also covered with snow, the length of 3 other marches: after which, a fourth, through a hilly or mountainous tract, brought them to the villages, where they found such ample means of refreshment: and whose position forms the term of the present head of enquiry. So that the whole tract, from the mountains of the Carduchians, to a point four marches north of the Euphrates, 17 marches in all, was, with very few exceptions, "a plain, interspersed with hills of an "easy ascent." But this plain is exceedingly elevated above those of *Mesopotamia* and *Assyria*; as is the whole country of *Armenia* and its adjacencies: for, as it has been before remarked, the ascent of *Taurus*,† from the south, is out of all proportion greater, than the descent to the plain of Armenia, on the north. Accordingly, the great body of land, constituting the *two Armenias*, according to the ancient division,‡

* This too, was after he had made an amicable treaty with them (Lib. iv. c. 19.)

† Called in that part, the *Carduchian* mountains; and farther to the north-west, *Niphates*.

‡ That is, Armenia *major*, on the east of the Euphrates, or Frat, above Taurus;

may be regarded as an upper level, or kind of *table-land;* from whence the rivers descend in every direction: and on the northern side of which *table*, the *Moschi* and *Sanni* mountains, form a steep descent towards the Black sea.

We shall now enquire, from these *data*, and other notices, and circumstances, into the probable situation of the ford of the Euphrates, where the Greeks crossed it; as well as into that of the villages of refreshment, both to the *north* and *south* of it.

When the Greeks enquired of the country-people, at the southern foot of the *Carduchian* mountains, concerning the roads; they were told amongst other particulars, that the road over the mountains, to the north, led to the *Carduchians;* and that beyond these people, was *Armenia*, a spacious and plentiful country; "from whence they might march which "way soever they pleased." (Lib. III. at the end.)

After their arrival *in* Armenia, nothing is said respecting their line of direction, until they had crossed the Euphrates; when it is said, that the last day's march was very grievous, because "*the north wind blew full in their faces:*" (Lib. iv. c. 23.) As no good reason can be assigned, why their course should have been otherwise, at this point of their progress, than at any intermediate point, since they entered the open country; one may infer, that they had proceeded *north*, or much *northerly*, the whole way from the *Centrites.* This is all that can be collected from the history: but there are other circumstances, which render it probable that they went north, or very much northerly. One is, the position of mount

Armenia *minor*, on the west. The *western* Armenia of Xenophon, was, however, included in the greater Armenia.

Niphates, which interposed between them and the line of direction towards Asia Minor: and another, that the river, to which they came in 6 marches from the *Centrites*; and which they named *Teleboas;* answers to the *Aksou*, or white river, in M. Delisle's map of Armenia; whose line of direction being northerly, and nearly in the meridian of the pass of the Centrites, would necessarily be intersected or skirted by the line of march.* And lastly, that the fine plains of western Armenia, answer to those of Moosh *(Moxoene)* described by Abulfeda and Sherefeddin, as occupying a great part of the space between Moosh and Aklat: so that it may be conceived that the Greeks marched nearly in the midst, between the mountains of Moosh *(Niphates)* and the lake of Wan; on whose western shore Aklat is situated. And had they marched in the *neighbourhood* of such a range of snowy mountains as those of Moosh, it is probable that Xenophon would have mentioned them.† Upon the whole, then, it appears highly probable that

* Xenophon says that the *Teleboas*, "though not large, was beautiful, and had many fine villages on its banks: this country was called the western part of Armenia." (Lib. iv. c. 19.)

This river answers to the *Arsanius* of Plutarch; to which Lucullus came, on the fourth march from the northern foot of *Taurus*; called in that part, the *Carduchian* mountains. This river is also the *Arsinius* of Procopius, or a branch of it: for he only knew the northern, or Erzerum, branch, as the Euphrates; as Xenophon only knew the eastern one. Lucullus was at this time on his way from *Tigranocerta* towards *Artaxata*. Here he gained a decisive battle over Tigranes: but the near approach of an Armenian winter, made him relinquish his design of marching northwards.

There is no contradiction arising from the different lengths of the marches of Xenophon, and Lucullus, from the foot of Taurus, to the river in question; although both might have set off from the same point: the route of the one being north, the other north east, would intersect the river in different places, and at very unequal distances from the point of outset.

† Sherefeddin, in his history of Timur, relates that immediately to the westward of

the course was generally northward; or perhaps inclining rather to the *west:* for it may be supposed, that as they had guides in this part of their way (as we are told Lib. iv. c. 23), they would naturally be conducted on some great road, that led towards the nearest parts of the Black sea; which bore to the west of north from them.*

The distance given on this northerly line, from the river *Centrites* to the villages of refreshment, lying to the NORTH of the Euphrates, and which necessarily includes the ford of that river, and the villages of refreshment to the SOUTH of it), is as follows:

From the *Centrites* to the *Teleboas* was six marches; and three more to the villages of refreshment, *south* of the Euphrates, where they had the first snow. Thence to the pass where Teribazus was defeated, one *short* march; and 3 more to the ford of the Euphrates: in all 13 marches from the *Centrites* to the *Euphrates;* and four more to the villages of refreshment beyond, or to the north of it. In all 17.

The 9 marches which brought them to the *first* villages of refreshment; and where the first snow fell, are given at 5 parasangas each; equal to 45 parasangas; and the 4 remaining ones, to the Euphrates, for which no distance is given, being through a deep snow, *newly fallen*, must of necessity,

Moosh, there were very high mountains, covered with snow, in the spring season: and that Timur in crossing them, lost many of his beasts of burthen, through the cold. Moosh is 4 journies to the N. E. by E. of Diyarbekir; three west of Aklat; the fine plain of Moosh lying between.

* It appears by the travels of *Père Avril,* at the latter end of the 17th century, that there was a *caravan road,* between Bedlis and Erzerum: but no particulars are given, on an occasion where they are so much called for. It is merely said, that the journey was 8 or 10 days, in performing. He doubtless went by way of Yezidkoi, and Khanoos.

have been *very short*; as we are afterwards told that the horses sunk up to their bellies.* One of the marches was, moreover, rather an *excursion* than a *march*; for it was no farther than they had previously ventured to go, from their camp, in order to surprise Teribazus; and to which camp they had returned the same day. It seems, therefore, that if 2 parasangas be taken, for the excursion to the pass, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ for the other 3 days, through the snow, it may be deemed sufficient: and then the 13 days will give $54\frac{1}{2}$ parasangas: equal to nearly 117 G. miles, in *direct* distance, between the *Centrites* and the Euphrates.

Before we endeavour to apply this line of distance, to the geography, it will be proper to lay before the reader, as much of the account of the geographical construction, relating to the place of the source, and future line of course of the Euphrates, (meaning the Murad, or *eastern* branch, which is the Euphrates of Xenophon)† as will enable him to judge for himself, how far the statement of the positions, on which the argument turns, deserves credit. It must, in the first instance, be assumed, that the surrounding positions of Diyarbekir, Jezirah, Moosh, Wan, Malazkerd, Bayazid, and Erzerum, are all placed upon the best authorities that could be obtained. The reader is again referred to the map No. II.

The source of the Murad was once thought to be *near*

* The head man of the village north of the Euphrates, taught them to tie *bags* to the feet of the horses: without them, the horses sunk up to their bellies, in the newly fallen snow; which they measured, and found to be six feet deep. Lib. IV. c. 28.

† It seems scarcely necessary to remark that the Euphrates crossed by Xenophon at *Thapsacus*, in Syria, is formed of the joint waters of the one in question, (*i e.* the Murad) and those of the Erzerum, or western branch (the Frat); the conflux taking place previous to the passage of the Euphrates, through *Anti-Taurus*.

Bayazid; but is now said to be at a place, 30 miles or more, farther to the westward. It was pointed out to Mr. James Morier, when at Diadin, at about 10 miles to the south-west of that place. However, it is certain that Hajy Kalifa says, that "the Murad, which has its fountain head *in Aladag* (the "mountains of *Ala*) traverses the plain of Bayazid." And this circumstance is added—"That in the same plain, the Murad is swallowed up; and issues out again at the distance of four hours travelling."*

The mountains of *Ala* form a lofty ridge, which extends from west to east, between the source of the river Arash (*Araxes*), near Erzerum, and mount Ararat;† and which appears to *terminate* in the latter. On the south, Ala detaches a parallel ridge; and thus forms a spacious valley, of about an hundred miles in length; in the eastern quarter of which, the town of Bayazid is situated. The source of the Murad, pointed out to Mr. Morier, springs from the southern side of this valley: so that either the *southern* ridge is to be regarded as a *member* of Ala; or there are other sources nearer to Bayazid; (as H. Kalifa says that there are several springs). Certain it is, however, that Mr. Morier crossed no stream, whatsoever, in his way westward from Bayazid; the Murad at the same time flowing in the like direction, along the valley, and skirting his route on the left.

But as Bayazid contains an extensive district; in which a part at least, of the above valley is known to be included; (or it may be the greater part); may not the source near Diadin,

* Hajy Kalifa's Geography of Armenia, translated by M. Hammer, of Vienna.

† That is, the mountain of that name near Irwân; but called *Macis* by the Armenians; *Agri-dagh*, by the Turks.

which certainly flows through the valley in question, be the fountain head of the Murad, intended by H. Kalifa?

This source appears to be the one spoken of by Pliny, (Lib. v. c. 24), on the report of Corbulo; as springing from the mountain of *Aba*, in the province of *Caranitis*, in Armenia. The name *Aba* or *Abi*, is said to be still known in Armenia: possibly the *Haboudja* of M. Delisle may have some relation to it.

The Murad is also the Euphrates of Strabo (page 521). So that the ancients, generally, applied the name of the *confluent* stream, to the eastern branch, as the natives do *Frat* (probably the origin of Euphrates) to the western. It may be supposed that Xenophon gave to the Greeks, the first distinct notices, concerning the general position and course of the Murad; to which he naturally gave the name of Euphrates; and was followed by the ancient geographers in general.

Pliny says that the Euphrates only takes that name, after having passed through the mountains: being previously named *Omiras*. He seems to have heard indistinctly, concerning the *Murad*, *Arsanius*, and other rivers, which flow into the Euphrates, or its branches: but it may be understood, that he did not consider the *Omiras* (Murad?) so much a branch, as the main river itself, under a different name. The *Arsanius* has been already spoken of, as the *Teleboas* of Xenophon, in the note to page 207: but it appears probable to the author, that through the great want of knowledge that had so long prevailed, concerning the subject of the upper branches of the Euphrates, and the countries through which they take their courses; that the name *Arsanius* has been very differently applied, by different persons amongst the ancients. But a

discussion of the subject, would not only be too long; but out of place, here.

From Diadin, the Murad takes a general westerly course, through the valley above-mentioned; by Utchkilisse, Alishgherd, and Turpakala: Mr. Morier's route, keeping either to its bank, or to its neighbourhood, during an extent of 60 or 70 miles: thus ascertaining to a moral certainty, that its course is such, as to agree with the march of Xenophon; which requires that it should have kept to a high northern parrallel, from its source, to the place where he crossed it: and which must have been after it had pierced the southern ridge of Ala-dagh, in its way to the west.*

From thence, its general course bends more to the S. W. and even to the south; so as to enter the great plain of Moosh: for this is its description, in the Armenian geography of Hajy Kalifa. It is, moreover, confirmed in this part also, by the map of M. Delisle, and by the report which Mr. Morier heard of it. It receives, by the way, several considerable streams, one of which is the Aksou, or *Teleboas*, before commemorated (page 207); and another, the Karasou, which joins it in the plain of Moosh.†

Hajy Kalifa describes very particularly, the town and province (or Sanjigat) of *Khanoos*, situated to the south-east of Erzerum, at the distance of three journies. It occurs also in a route given by M. Niebuhr, from Erzerum to Wan, under the name of *Kanis*; at the distance of 20 hours travelling, from the former: and south-easterly, of course; as pointing

* M. D'Anville describes its course very differently: but M. Delisle's delineation agrees with Mr. Morier's report.

† Hajy Kalifa's Geography of Armenia. *Karasou* means the *Black* river.

towards the head of the lake of Wan. Ibrahim Effendi, also, in his map of Persia, &c. has *Kanis*, with the river of Murad *near* it. And to complete the information respecting this particular, Mr. Morier was informed that the Murad, after quitting the neighbourhood of Turpakala, passed through a province of the name of *Kensus*. One may readily conclude that there was an error, either in collecting the name, or in writing it down; and that *Khanoos* or *Kenus* was intended.

Here then is a satisfactory proof, not only that the province of Khanoos exists, in this general situation; but that the Murad, by its general course, must pass through it.

Now Diodorus, who (as we have before remarked,) evidently made use of other materials besides the *Anabasis*, attributed to Xenophon, says, that the Greeks, in their retreat, passed through the countries of the *Chaoi* and *Phasiani;* and afterwards traversed what was called the country of the *Chalcidians*. It is proper to state, that he omits the Euphrates, altogether; having, apparently, confounded it with the *Phasis* (or rather the *Araxes*). For he says, that from the *Phasis*, they passed through the countries of the *Chaoi* and *Phasiani* to that of the *Chalcidians*.* Since then the districts of Khanoos (or Kanis) and Passin border on each other, at this day,† it appears probable that they represent the *Chaoi* and *Phasiani* of ancient times. And as the Euphrates of Xenophon (the Murad) really passes through, or by, the province of Khanoos, as

* Diodorus, Lib. XIV. 29. He has transposed the order of time, in which some of the events and transactions, took place; as well as the geographical positions of places: as may be seen by a comparison of his history with the Anabasis; and indeed, with the reason of the thing. By *Chalcidians*, he must be supposed to mean *Chaldæans*.

† Hajy Kalifa's Description of Armenia.

appears to have been satisfactorily shown, by combining the different notices derived from M. Delisle, Mr. Morier, and Hajy Kalifa; as well as those contained in the chart of Ibrahim Effendi, and the route given by M. Niebuhr; it can hardly be doubted, that the Ten Thousand really crossed the Murad, either within that province, or near its boundary. The northerly direction of their march, and the distance given, accord with this idea; for there are measured on the geographical construction (See Map No. II.) 103 or 104 G. miles, between the *Centrites* and the Murad, on that general course: and 117 is the result of the marches: taking the first 9, at Xenophon's statement of 5 parasangas each.* But then, we have here calculated, as if the line of the road was generally straight; and as it might well have happened otherwise, a part of the difference, ($13\frac{1}{2}$ miles) may be owing to *that;* and perhaps the remainder of it, to an erroneous construction of the Geography, and an over-rating of the original distance; which Xenophon is apt to do. (For it may be observed, that after crossing the Euphrates, *five* parasangas are allowed for each of the three marches, through a deep snow, newly fallen; that is the same rate, as when they were marching over a naked plain.)†

This arrangement, then, appears on the whole, to be satisfactory: and thus an important point in the retreat is established. For M. D'Anville and M. Larcher place the ford of the Euphrates, a degree and a half to the eastward of Khanoos: and for this, no other reason appears, than because Xenophon says "it was *not far* from its source." But this could only be

* See above, page 208.

† Perhaps, however, an error of Editors or Copyists.

speaking comparatively: for by Mr. Morier's route, the ford could not be less than 90 or 100 G. miles from that source near Diadin. For the Greeks are said to have marched through plains, for several days; and, as it appears, in a northerly direction, both in their approach to the Euphrates, and after leaving it; which they could not have done at a point higher up, because its course is there shut up, by chains of mountains.*

The ford of the Euphrates, thus approximated, is upwards of 60 miles to the S. E. by E. of Erzerum; and was said to be *navel deep*.

Before we proceed to the villages of refreshment, *north* of the Euphrates, it may be proper to say a word respecting a circumstance, which adds strength to the above opinion, concerning the line of direction northwards.

Certain villages of refreshment, at nine marches from the Centrites, have been mentioned; where the Greeks halted 3 days, including the attack of the pass, and of Terribazus' camp. Xenophon says (Lib. IV. c. 20.) "They came to a *palace*, "surrounded with *many* villages, abounding in all sorts of "provisions." And it is also said, that some of the villages were "at a distance from one another."† In a country where villages do not often occur, (for villages are only mentioned 3 times in the course of the 9 days); so many of them lying together, and those so well provided, may be considered as a position of some note. Now in the map of M. Delisle, before

* As the Murad is fordable at Palou, near its conflux with the Frat, it is not at all necessary to go high up in search of a ford.

† These are probably to be considered as *hamlets*, forming, collectively, one town or jurisdiction. Other groupes or clusters, appear in the course of the march through Armenia.

quoted, as having furnished so much important matter, in the quarter, there occurs, in a position answering to the villages just mentioned (taken in respect of the crossing place of the Euphrates), the village of the *Jesidians* or *Yezidians*; (i. e. *Manichæans*); and in M. Niebuhr's route, before quoted, it appears also, under the name of *Yezid-koi*, which means the same thing. It is given at 19 leagues to the S. E. of Khanoos; 17 to the N. W. of Malazkerd: all being on the same road, leading from Erzerum to Wan. Here then is a second point of agreement: and the result shews, that the line upon which the Greeks marched through Armenia, was very much *northerly*: for the presumptive proof of the identity of Yezidkoi, with the *first villages of refreshment*, is certainly strong.

Taking the ford of the Euphrates, as a new point of departure, the next consideration, is, the length of the 4 marches from thence to the *second villages of refreshment*, which lay to the north of the Euphrates: and whose position forms the term of the present head of enquiry.

These four marches were made through a *deep snow*, recently fallen; and which was in one place no less than *six feet* in depth.* All of them, of course, must have been very short; and the two last, remarkably so. It is mentioned, that on the 3d day, the *north wind blew full in their faces*, and that the march was very grievous; so that 30 soldiers, besides many slaves and horses, died of cold and hunger. And but for their arrival at the villages which sheltered them, on the 4th day, few could have escaped: for when they slept, they were often covered up in snow.

* See Lib. IV. c. 23, where Xenophon accounts for the manner in which they ascertained it.

Xenophon allows no less than 5 parasangas, or about 14 B. miles each, for the first three of these marches, *through a deep snow.* But this is probably an error in the copying: for in the first place, 5 parasangas formed an *ordinary* march, on *clear ground:* and where horses sunk up to their bellies, what proportion of an ordinary march, could be accomplished? probably 22 miles may be sufficient for the whole; or 16 to 17 G. miles in direct distance. The course must be considered to be northerly; or north, somewhat west; from the ford of the Euphrates, to the villages in question. These, therefore, are placed on the geographical construction, at nearly E. S. E. 50 or more geographic miles from Erzerum; and at 18 to 20 to the southward of the river Arash, or *Araxes.** Hence, the position would be sought for, about midway between the towns of Khanoos and Deli-baba; and on the skirts of the mountains of *Ala:* for they were amongst hills,† on the 4th day: although the 3 first, from the Euphrates, were through a plain, and northwards.‡ Such is the general position of the *second* and *principal* cluster of villages of refreshment; and which might be truly styled the villages of PRESERVATION; considering the actual state of the Grecian army. For it may be remarked, that the comfortable quarters, and good cheer, which they met with here, though, as too often happens, abused by the possessors, was the most critical and opportune, possible: since a very few more such marches, and nights, as they

* This is on the calculation of their having advanced 16 or 17 G. miles to the northward of the crossing place of the Euphrates; and which, added to the 103 or 104 between the Centrites and the Euphrates, (see above, page 214,) gives a total of about 120 from the Centrites: and, reduced to one line of distance, about 143 from their *uppermost station,* on the bank of the Tigris; in a direction, *due north.*

† A *valley* is mentioned, Lib. IV. c. 23. ‡ See again the Map No. II.

had lately experienced, would have ruined both their constitutions, and their discipline.*

It cannot have escaped the reader of the *Anabasis*, that, in the conversation between Xenophon and the chief of the village, the latter said, that the horses, of which they found a considerable number there, "were bred for the king of Per-"sia, as a tribute." And also, "that the horses of that "country, were smaller than those of Persia, but had a great "deal more spirit." (Lib. IV. c. 28.)

Now Hajy Kalifa, in his description of the province of Khanoos, in Armenia, says, "Khanoos is famous for its *jailahs*, "or summer quarters, in the mountains of *Bingeul*, *Sooshehr*, "and *Sherefedin* (meaning *pasturages*, on the hills, when the "plains were burnt up.) Its horses are famous for their swift-"ness. It contributes (to government) 400 horsemen."

This, no doubt, strengthens the idea of the identity of Khanoos, with the *quarter* in which the Greeks were sheltered and refreshed. The position of the *town* of Khanoos itself, does not suit the *northern course*, through Armenia: it seems also to be too far from the *Chaldæans* or *Chalybians*, who are said, Lib. IV. c. 28, to inhabit the *neighbouring* country: and who appear to have been seated in the plains now called Chalderan, between the rivers Arash and Harpasou (*Araxes* and *Harpasus*).

No habitations are mentioned, between the two places of

* Diodorus speaks of their sufferings, in the following manner: (Lib. xiv.)
—"Not being able to endure so grievous a march, every man was compelled to remain, in the place, in which the storm found him. And though all were in extreme want, yet they patiently endured, that whole night and day, the extreme cold—so that they could take no rest."—"Every man had perished, had they not found some small villages where there were provisions in plenty."

refreshment, on the different sides of the Euphrates; although at least 4 or 5 good marches apart. It has been remarked above (page 215,) that villages very seldom occurred in the way from the *Carduchians* to Yezidkoi, and then in clusters: so that it appears to have been the mode of living in the country; but which proves it to have been thinly peopled. In the instances of the two sets of villages of refreshment, we find clusters of small villages or hamlets, forming one community: and some of them so far distant from each other, that the troops quartered in them, were thought to be too widely dispersed. (Lib. IV. c. 20.)

At the latter of these places, which was situated in the most elevated part of Armenia, the habitations (at least the winter ones), were singularly constructed.

"Their houses (says Xenophon) were under ground, the "mouth resembling that of a well; but spacious below: there "was an entrance dug for the cattle, but the inhabitants de-"scended by ladders. In these houses were goats, sheep, "cows, and fowls; with their young. All the cattle were "maintained within doors, with fodder." (Lib. IV. c. 26.)

Tavernier, who crossed this part of Armenia in a caravan, saw at Halicarcara, a town calculated to be within 20 miles of Xenophon's station, and to the north-east of it, habitations of the very same kind. He says "they are made under ground like caves." He says also, that the snow was so deep, that they could not travel during 8 days. This was in March: Xenophon's arrival there, was after the middle of December.*

* The elevated part of western Asia, must be excessively cold, from the circumstance mentioned by Della Valle, of his ink freezing in a room at Hamadan (*Ecbatana*) which is below the parallel of 35°.

In Kamschatka, the winter habitations are precisely like those in Armenia; but there are also summer houses. (See Capt. Cook's last voyage, vol. 3.)

The Greeks staid in these villages 8 days; at the end of which time, they again set forth in the snow: but of course refreshed and heartened at the expense of the unfortunate inhabitants.* The head man of the village which had been occupied by Xenophon's party, was their principal guide: but no intimation is given, concerning their intended route. However, they probably had, at this time, determined to go to *Trapezus* or Trebisonde, which being much less than 200 B. miles by the road, must certainly have been known by report to the more intelligent part of the people of the villages: or at least, they could not but have known in what quarter the Black sea, was situated.

* The extravagance, waste, and thoughtlessness of an army, or any other set of men, in *free quarters*, is shewn, by Xenophon's description of what passed on this occasion. Their previous sufferings may perhaps be thought to plead in excuse for *them*; more especially as they considered themselves in an enemy's country. (Anab. Lib. IV. c. 27.)

"The soldiers rested that night in their several quarters, in the midst of plenty."—"The next day Xenophon went to *Cheirisophus*, and, in every village through which "he passed, made a visit to those who were quartered there; and found them every "where feasting and rejoicing. They all would force him to sit down to dinner with "them; and he every where found the tables covered with lamb, kid, pork, veal and "fowls; with plenty of bread, some made of wheat, and some of barley. When any "one had a mind to drink to his friend, he took him to the jar, where he was obliged "to stoop, and sucking, drink like an ox." (This is explained by what went before (c. 26): "There was beer in jars, in which the malt itself floated even with the brims of "the vessels; and with it reeds, some large and others small, without joints. These, "when any one was thirsty, he was to take into his mouth, and suck.)"

"When they came to Cheirisophus, they found them also feasting, and crowned with "garlands made of hay; and Armenian boys, in barbarian dresses, waiting on them. "To these they signified by signs, what they would have them do, as if they had been "deaf."

*** The opinion of Ptolemy respecting the upper part of the Euphrates, was by accident, omitted in its place, page 211.

He describes both of its branches, the *Frat* and the *Murad*; but applies the name of Euphrates, to the former; or the branch from Erzerum. His delineation has a coarse resemblance to the truth: but he derived advantages from the discoveries and improvements made by the Romans, posterior to the times of Strabo and Pliny. He describes in the course of the branch, which answers to the *Murad*, a great bend to the north; like that in the quarter of Khanoos. (See the Map No. II.)

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM THE VILLAGES OF SHELTER AND REFRESHMENT, BEYOND (i. e. to the north of) THE EUPHRATES, TO THE RIVER HARPASUS.

The Greeks *depart for* Trebisonde*—*The guide deserts them, in the midst of the deep snow*—*They* wander *during* twenty-one days; *chiefly between the rivers* Phasis *and* Harpasus—*Geographical discussions and remarks*—*The* Harpasou *a well-known river, from* Georgia—*The* Phasis *not the river of* Colchis; *but the* Araxes; *flowing through the country of the* Phasians—*The* Taöchians, *the present* Tahoskari—*The* Chalybians *(or rather* Chaldæans*) the people of* Chalderan—*The city of* Gymnias *taken for the present town named by different travellers* Comasour, Coumbas, *and* Kumakie; *situated on the river Arash, or* Araxes—*The above points, if admitted, fix the general limits of the space, through which the Greeks wandered.*

THE Greeks left their quarters of refreshment and repose, under the guidance of the chief of the village, which had fallen to the lot of Xenophon to quarter in; (its inhabitants for

* Although it is not declared, that such was their precise destination, yet that alone can be understood. For when they were preparing to attack the *Colchian* mountains, Xenophon, in his speech to the army, observes, (Lib. IV. c. 44) that the enemy before them "are the only remaining obstacle, that hinders them from being already in *the place*, "*whither they were long since hastening*." They were then within three marches of Trebisonde.

want of warning, having had no opportunity of escaping, like the rest, when the Greeks arrived). The son of the guide, "a youth in the flower of his age," accompanied them, as a hostage for the good behaviour of his father.

After three day's march through the snow, without meeting with any villages, Cheirisophus grew angry with the guide, on a supposition that he had purposely avoided them; and struck him: upon which, being at large, he made his escape in the night, leaving the youth behind him.*

The author is of opinion, contrary to the usually received one, that the guide may well be exculpated from any design to mislead. In the first place, it was surely his interest to lead the strangers out of his own neighbourhood as speedily as possible. And if the state of the country was such, *beyond* his village, as on *the way to it*, there ought to be nothing extraordinary, in meeting with no villages, in the course of 3 very *short* marches (necessarily short because of the deep snow), when none are mentioned, in the course of the preceding 8 marches, of the same kind: nor had they slept under cover during all that time.

Thus the impatience and indiscretion of Cheirisophus, in first punishing, and afterwards (whether the guide was in fault or otherwise,) allowing him to be at large, plunged the Greeks into a scene of confusion and distress. That Cheirisophus was blameable, is to be inferred from Xenophon's disapprobation of his conduct, alone: but all must condemn him, on the strength of their own judgment. But who is wise at all times? And the guide, by abandoning his son, a promis-

* Cheirisophus having charge of the van, whilst Xenophon himself brought up the rear, the guide would of course be consigned to the care of the former.

ing youth, to the mercy of hostile strangers, is yet more censurable. The terms in which Xenophon mentions the manner of disposing of this youth; together with his commiseration of the soldiers, when lying in the snow; and his active and affectionate attention to their wants; exhibit his merit as a man of feeling, in as favourable a light, as his public conduct does that of his political and military character.*

It has been said, that it would be vain to attempt to trace the Greeks, after they had *lost themselves;* as appears to have been actually the case, from the time the guide left them, to their arrival at the river *Harpasus;* from whence they appear to have suddenly turned back, and are next found at the city of *Gymnias;* where they procured guides, who promised to conduct them to a place, from whence they might *view the* SEA. But we shall, notwithstanding, beg leave to offer our conjectures on the situation and general extent of the tract, through which they wandered: and shall solicit the reader's patience, whilst we attempt to engage his attention to what can be offered on a subject, which has so much divided the opinions of geographers.

* It appears (Lib. IV. c. 29) that the youth was confided to the charge of Episthenes of *Amphipolis*. The same Episthenes had been previously spoken of, as having distinguished himself, at the head of the Targeteers, at the battle of *Cunaxa*. (Lib. I. c. 45.)

There is also an Episthenes, said to be an *Olynthian*, mentioned in a less respectable manner, in Lib. VII. c. 36. Now unless it be a misconception of the *index-makers*, both Spelman and Larcher have supposed these circumstances to relate to the same person. Certain it is, however, that Xenophon speaks of an Episthenes of *Amphipolis*; and another of *Olynthus*. And one would be loth to suppose that Xenophon intended the same person, when he speaks of the disposal of the youth; with him in the VIIth book: not but that we must condemn the levity with which he speaks, in the latter place.

On the presumption that the guide had been directing them towards Trebisonde, the point at which he deserted them, may be supposed to have been at about 36 G. miles to the eastward of Erzerum; 8 to the S. E. of the bridge of *Kobankupri* (over the river Arash). From this place, after an interval of 21 days, they found themselves at the river *Harpasus*: and on the 29th came to *Gymnias*; from which place, they made 10 or 11 more to Trebisonde. And it is possible that *Gymnias* was not more than 10 or 12 miles, from the place where the guide left them.*

It is morally impossible to trace their route *to* the *Harpasus*; but *from it* to *Gymnias* and Trebisonde, does not appear very difficult; provided certain positions are admitted. These are, 1. The river *Harpasus*, and the station of the Greeks on its banks. 2. The *Phasis*, according to Xenophon; but in fact, the *Araxes* of Armenia: and the district of the *Phasians*, through which it flowed. 3. The country of the *Taochians*. 4. That of the *Chalybians* of Xenophon; or rather *Chaldæans*. And, 5. The city of *Gymnias* or *Gumnias*.

First, of the *Harpasus*, as forming the supposed eastern limit of the tract, through which the Greeks wandered.

This river then is most evidently recognised in the Harpa-sou, or Harpa river,† being the northern branch of the Arash, or *Araxes*.

M. Tournefort, to whom, on the score of his instructive and entertaining Travels, the public are indebted for the illustration of the geography of this quarter of Armenia; gives the most

* See again the Map No. II.

† *Sou*, or *Soo*, signifies *River* in the Turkish language; and is equally applied to the *Mœander*, in the west, and the *Euphrates* in the east.

clear and positive information respecting this river; which he crossed twice; once in his way from Kars to Teflis; and a second time, on his return from Irwân to Kars and Erzerum. In the first instance, he crossed it not far from its source, which is situated in the mountains that form the south-western frontier of Georgia, or Gurgistan. The second crossing was much lower down, and not far from its place of conflux with the Arash (the *Phasis* river of Xenophon). It was now a considerable stream: for it had received the river of Kars, and another from the Balakez lake, in the intermediate space. But it was still fordable; although the ford was deep and dangerous: and had nearly proved fatal to M. Tournefort. It formed the boundary between the countries of Turkey and Persia.*

Xenophon says nothing more concerning it, than that it was 4 plethra, or 400 feet in breadth; which agrees with Diodorus, and appears probable, from the description of it by Tournefort. The ford was near Ani, a ruined fortress, mentioned in the history of Timur.

The new Russian map describes its course, together with those of its adjunct streams: so that on the whole, the information respecting it, is very clear and satisfactory.

That it should preserve its ancient name so completely, is no matter of surprise; when it is considered, that not only most of the considerable rivers of this region have preserved their's,† but also a considerable proportion of the towns.

* Hajy Kalifa informs us, that the Harpa-sou river is crossed, in the way from Kars to Irwân; at 16 hours to the eastward of the former.

† As Kur, (*Cyrus*); Arash, (*Araxes*); Faz, or Fash, (*Phasis*); Alazan, (*Alazan*); Aragua, (*Aragus*); Frat (*Euphrates*); and Pliny no doubt means the Murad by the *Omiras*.

The Harpa-sou is said to abound with fish, in a greater degree than any other river in that country.

2. The river *Phasis*, and tribe of *Phasiani*. Hajy Kalifa, in his description of Armenia, mentions the " district of *Passin*, " which contains, amongst other places, Hassan-kala, half a " day's journey from Erzerum."* As Hassan-kala is so well known from M. Tournefort's description, and drawing of it; and from Mr. Morier; one cannot be at a loss where to place the province of Passin: that is, immediately to the eastward of Erzerum; and containing the sources of the Arash or *Araxes*. Hajy Kalifa moreover says, that " from the plain of Passin " rises a stream which joins the Arash."

M. Tournefort sufficiently points out the source of the Arash itself, which is situated, according to him, on the opposite side of the same mountains, which give rise to the *Frat*, or *western* Euphrates. And as these mountains lie between Erzerum and Hassan-kala, which are only a day's journey asunder, the source of the Arash, which river passes under Hassan-kala, cannot be mistaken.

The *point* at which Xenophon crossed the *Phasis*, cannot be placed; because it occurred after they had lost their guide: and perhaps had in the interim, wandered very considerably. But from other quarters it may be well understood, that it is the same river with the Arash; and doubtless obtained its name, in the upper part of its course, from the tribe of the *Phasians*. And it may with equal probability be concluded, that the present district of *Passin*, was the seat of the *Phasiani* of Xenophon.

M. D'Anville (Geog. Ancien. vol. II. p. 100,) quotes a

* It is rather a whole day's journey.

Byzantine author, who says that the name of *Phasiana* is applied to a district, traversed by the Arash river, in the early part of its course. And M. Delisle (Mém. Acad. Roy. Scien. 1721) quotes Constantine Porphyrogenetes, who says that the river *Phasis* ran near Theodosiopolis: that it separated *his* empire from *Iberia*: and that it was also *named Erax*. *Theodosiopolis* is universally referred to Hassan-kala; so that the river in question is perfectly distinct from the *Colchian Phasis*; although this passage in Xenophon misled some of the geographers, ancient as well as modern:* but the *Colchian Phasis* has its sources from *Caucasus*, and its members; very far distant to the north-eastward. And indeed, the sources of the *Phasis* and *Cyrus*, in Ptolemy, ought to change places. (See his *Asiæ*, Tab. 3).

3. The *Taochians*.† The notices respecting the seat of this tribe are not so clear as the former. M. D'Anville (Geog. Ancien. vol. II. p. 101) again quotes a Byzantine author to prove that "a district named *Tahoskari*, agrees, in point of "local circumstance, with the place of the *Taochi* in Xeno-"phon." The author's name is not mentioned, so that we

* Strabo and Dionysius both thought that the *Phasis* (of *Colchis*) had its source in *Armenia*. Doubtless, they were misled by the *Phasis* of Xenophon, which, as we have seen, was denominated merely from the tribe seated on its banks.

But it may be suspected, that Xenophon himself thought the *Araxes* to be the *Phasis* of *Colchis*: for in Lib. V. 33, 34, he *seems* to connect the *Phasians*, known to him, with the river *Phasis* of *Colchis*: for that river alone can be intended in those places. The *Colchians* of Trebisonde, and the supposed *Phasis*, might easily have misled him.

† M. Delisle, in his Dissertation on the Marches of the Ten Thousand (*Mém. Acad. Roy. Scienc.* 1721), says, that *Taochir* is marked as a province in a map of Georgia, made by a Georgian prince. And this is very true; but this *Taochir* is distinct, and very distant from the country of the *Taochi* of Xenophon. But they may have migrated since that time.

are precluded from making a comparison: but the position assigned to the Tahoskari, by M. D'Anville, is much the same as would be given to the *Taochi*, by the context of the history; that is, nearly adjoining, on the N. E. to the *Phasiani*. For the Greeks came to the post occupied by the combined forces of the *Phasiani*, *Taochi*, and *Chalybians*, at the passage of the mountains, in two marches from the river *Phasis*; and as this is said to have been no more than 100 feet wide, or one fourth of the width of the *Harpasus*, the crossing place must have been very high up; since the *Phasis* (in other words the *Arash* or *Araxes*) cannot be regarded as a smaller river than the Harpa-sou, at the place where they meet. Therefore it may with some probability, be concluded, that it was crossed within the *bounds* of the province of Passin: (and perhaps the name *Phasis* was only applied to that part of the river contained *within* it.)*

How much soever the Greeks may have wandered, between the passage of the *Phasis* and the *Harpasus*, it is incontestible that their general course was north-easterly; or much to the *northward* of *east*; otherwise they could not have reached the Harpa-sou: and the distance being about 150 British miles, including the windings of the road, the 14 marches would average $10\frac{3}{4}$ nearly, had they made the *shortest cut*, from the supposed crossing place to the conflux of the Harpa-sou and Arash: so that the excess, reckoning by mean marches of about 14 miles each, is only *one-fourth part*.†

* It is very common in the east, to call a river by the name of the place it passes by; or the country it penetrates; although the river may have a proper and general name. But to obtain *this*, the inquiry must be pointed.

† This seems to shew, that, being without guides, they were proceeding on *a geogra-*

Admitting that they crossed the *Phasis* in the quarter of Koban-kupri, they would then have fallen into the great road,* from *Arze* (Erzerum) to *Iberia*, by way of Kars, (*Karsi* or *Chorsi*); in which the mountain that so much disquieted M. Tournefort, (on the score of the banditti, lying in wait there for the Caravan), would answer to that, on which the combined tribes took post to oppose the Greeks, at the distance of two marches from the passage of the *Phasis*.† As the mountain described by Xenophon (IV. c. 32) was no more than 60 stadia in length; and having crossed it, they descended immediately into a plain, one cannot reconcile this circumstance to the description of the *main* ridge of mountains of the *Moschi*; but it was probably a projection, or shoulder of that ridge; as the one described by Tournefort really appears to be.

It may readily be conceived that three adjoining tribes, as these are described to be by Xenophon, would have joined their forces, in a situation somewhat centrical to the whole, when an eligible position occurred in the same quarter, rather than towards the extremity of either; for their mutual convenience: and it really happens, that the supposed situation of the *post* in question, is nearly centrical to the three districts, according to the assumed positions of the *Phasiani* and *Taochi*; as well as of the position which the *Chalybians* must necessarily have occupied; in order not only to agree with their relative situation to the *Harpasus* river (*within* which, alone, they

phical system of their own; which, in all probability, placed Trebisonde very much too far to the east.

* It was necessary, of course, that they should travel on *a* road, although *that* road might not point *exactly* to the place they wished to arrive at finally.

† See M. Tournefort's Travels, Vol. 3, Letter vii.

ought to be placed); but in conformity to the general tenor of the history. And this leads naturally to the consideration of the next article; that of the *Chalybians;* as they are denominated by Xenophon.

4. The *Chalybians*, or rather *Chaldeans*. It may be proper to remark at the outset, that the name CHALYBIANS, *here*, appears to be a mistake; and that CHALDÆANS are certainly intended. Xenophon indeed passed through a tribe of *Chalybians* on the shore of the Euxine: but then they were denominated from their being *workers in iron:* and doubtless it was a *nick-name* given by the Greeks; (as *Mosynæcians* to the dwellers in wooden fortresses, in another place): and as it is admitted that Xenophon wrote a great deal from memory, it is possible that he sometimes confounded the two together. On one occasion, he actually names *these*, CHALDÆANS:* although it is certain that in 3 other places, he writes *Chalybians*.

Diodorus (lib. xiv. c. 29,) writes *Chalcidæans:* and it is pretty certain that he had access to other materials, besides the *Anabasis*.† And probably the reader will be of opinion, that the name ought to be written *Chaldæans*.

* That is, when at *Cotyora*, he was conferring with the Ambassadors from *Sinope* (lib. v. c. 23,). The application cannot be mistaken; because he says "The *Chaldeans* and *Taochians*, though no subjects of the king," [of Persia] &c. So that he meant the people, whose territories he had passed through, during the 7 days before he came to the *Harpasus:* answering to the plain of Chalderan. Moreover, he speaks next in order, of the *Macronians:* thus shewing that he all along spoke of people who lay to the eastward of Trebisonde; and not of the *Chalybians* on the sea-coast, in the opposite quarter.

† It is not meant that the authority of Diodorus is better than that of Xenophon; but that as errors in writing of proper names easily happen, and are not easily detected; we ought not to slight such kind of information, as is contained in the different modes of writing proper names, by different authors.

This tribe (whom the author will beg leave in future to call *Chaldæans*) was situated *beyond* the *Phasiani* and *Taochi*, and extended to the *Harpasus* river. Seven marches are said to have been made, through their country (so also says Diodorus); so that it must have been extensive. It had many towns, and those fortified: and it appears, from what Xenophon says afterwards, that this tribe (as well as the *Taochians*), was independent of the king of Persia. It may be clearly perceived that they were different from all the other people whom the Greeks had yet encountered; they meeting them in close combat, and effectually preventing them from obtaining any provisions, whilst in their country: so that the Greeks lived upon the cattle which they had previously plundered from the *Taochians*. (Lib. IV. c. 39.)

The *Chaldæans*, then, (or those intended by the *Chalybians*) were seated *within* the *Harpasus*, and *beyond* the river *Phasis*, or Arash. The Harpa-sou is admitted to be the *Harpasus*; and the point of distance given, (see page 231) is not so much in excess, as to destroy probability; considering the circumstance of wandering. And to this, may be added, that the distance on their return, from the *Harpasus* to Trebisonde, agrees very well with the construction.

Hence, therefore, it may be concluded, that the extensive plain named CHALDERAN, extending to the Harpa-sou eastward; and along the course of the Arash, westward to Passin; and north-westward to the reported seats of the *Tahoskari*, represents the tract inhabited by the *Chaldæans* in question.*

It may be remarked, that the chief man of Xenophon's

* It would appear from Hajy-Kalifa, as if the plain of Chalderan or Shaldiran, extended eastward to mount Ararat.

village told him, that the *neighbouring* country was inhabited by the *Chalybians (Chaldæans?)* and informed him concerning the road that led to it. According to our idea of the site of the village, the country in question might be 30 to 40 miles to the north-eastward of it.*

5. The city of *Gymnias*.

Much, respecting the arrangement of this part of the route, depends on the geographical position of this city; and there can hardly be said to be any *authority* for placing it; so that it depends very much on opinion. M. D'Anville in his *Géog. Ancienne*, has placed it on the western Euphrates or Frat; below Erzerum. The objections are, that it is *too near* to M.

* M. D'Anville places the *Chalybes* (our *Chaldæans*), *Taochi*, and *Scythini*, together with the city of *Gymnias*, in such relative situations to each other, and to the ford of the Euphrates, that one is obliged to confess, that it is difficult to comprehend his train of ideas, on the subject. In the mode in which he has placed his *Chalybes*, in respect of the site of the villages of refreshment on the north of the Euphrates, it is impossible that they could in any sense be reckoned neighbours to each other; as the chief of the village described them to be.

The tribe of *Chaldæans*, whose description differs so much from that of their neighbours, and who were independent of the great king, may be conceived to have been one of the many northern tribes, who crossed mount Caucasus in quest of settlements in southern Asia. It appears from Xenophon that there were also tribes of *Scythians* established in the same quarter; whose territories the Greeks passed through, between the river *Harpasus* and M. *Thecbes*. Again, it is known that another tribe of *Scythians* occupied the province of *Sacasena*, situated along the southern bank of the river *Cyrus*, (now *Kur*,) adjoining on the south to Georgia, or Gurgistan; and whose district still preserves the name of *Kasaki*, and its inhabitants a distinct character from that of the surrounding people. This permanency of character may be owing to the nature of the country, which is exceedingly rough and mountainous: whilst it has been lost in the plain of *Chalderan*. These circumstances altogether, seem to prove, that the northern tribes were continually making irruptions, and establishments, in southern Asia: of which the account of the Scythian invasion in Herodotus (Clio. c. 103, *et seq.*) is a pointed instance.

Theches (Teke), and to Trebisonde; and *very much too far* from the Harpasus. His opinion, however, had undergone a great change: for in the map of the Retreat for M. Rollin's Ancient History, it is placed on the Shorak river, (that is the *Apsarus* or *Bathys)* to the eastward of Trebisonde: and it is very remarkable, that in the same map, he places the *Taochi* and *Chalybians* beyond, or to the east of the *Harpasus*, which appears quite contrary to the order of events in the history! In the map to M. Larcher's translation, there is a most astonishing departure from historical fact. The Greeks are carried first to the sea, from the *Harpasus;* and then to *Gymnias*. The map therefore, of course, could not be M. Larcher's own!* The differences, however, seem to prove the total absence of all kind of authority for the position of *Gymnias*.

Since the matter turns on opinion, the author will merely state his own; without enquiring into the motives which induced others to differ so widely amongst themselves.

A town or large village named by some *Comasour*, and by others, *Coumbas* and *Kumakie*, stands on the northern bank of the river Arash, about 35 miles below its source; and on the eastern border of Passin, or the country of the *Phasiani*. This we conceive may be the site of *Gymnias:* not merely on the resemblance of the roots of the names; but also on the score of its occupying a position, agreeing generally, in point of distance, with that of *Gymnias*, in respect of the river Harpasus, on the one hand; and Trebisonde on the other. For it is about 91½ G. miles from the nearest part of the Harpa-sou; 118 from Trebisonde. Now the distances given in the history,

* Yet, *on the whole,* the map in M. Larcher, is the best that the author has yet seen, of the very many that have appeared of the Expedition and Retreat.

are 8 marches, and 10 marches, respectively; but on examination it will be found, that the latter number should be 11, instead of 10: for the *two* marches given, for the distance between the *Colchian* mountains and Trebisonde, appear to be wrong; *three* coming nearer the truth. For M. Tournefort's distance from Trebisonde to the *foot* of those mountains, was equal to 26 or 27 G. miles *direct*:* so that the Greek encampment (where the honey was found) which appears to have been near the top of the ascent from the *opposite side*, may well be reckoned three ordinary marches from Trebisonde, or nearly 15 parasangas of Xenophon's scale, instead of the 7 given in the history; and which would not accord with any place of descent from the *Colchian* mountains, in coming from the eastward, to Trebisonde.†

If then 8 marches are taken, (according to the history,) for the distance between *Gymnias* and the place of encampment, on the *Colchian* mountains, these will agree to the distance on the construction; which gives nearly 86 G. miles, between Comasour and the summit of the mountain ascended by M. Tournefort: that is $10\frac{3}{4}$ for each march; and $10\frac{1}{2}$ is the received proportion for a *mean* march.

On the other hand the distance between Comasour and the Harpasou, at Ani, $91\frac{1}{2}$ G. miles, is rather above the mean march, as it gives nearly $11\frac{1}{2}$ instead of $10\frac{1}{2}$: but this is surely no just objection, as the distance may be over-rated on the

* M. Tournefort (Vol. III. Letter 6,) went two journies of 14 miles each; besides 4 hours of a third, to the foot of the mountains: perhaps 38 British miles; which would give in direct distance, at least 26 or 27 G. miles; and possibly 29.

† Anab. Lib. IV. c. 46.

Diodorus says that they were three days between the villages where they found the honey and Trebisonde; which appears to accord with the ground.

geographical construction, which, in this part, is founded on computed distances alone.

There is still another line of distance that respects Comasour. The Greeks made 5 marches from *Gymnias* to the mountain from whence they first saw the sea; as the guide had promised them; at least it was *on* the 5th march; and near the conclusion of it.* Now this distance agrees with the *passage* of the mountain, in the ordinary road between Erzerum and Trebisonde;† and which is a continuation of the ridge, on which the castle of *Teke* stands; unquestionably, the *Theches* of Xenophon: "the HOLY mountain of THECHES." Nor does the title of *holy* belong merely to this part of the ridge: for the extremity of it, which forms a very remarkable promontory, at 60 miles to the westward of the castle, was named *Hieron-orus;* and the remains of the name still subsists in *Jorus*, or *Yorus*.

This is what we have to offer, in support of the opinion that *Gymnias* stood on the site of Comasour.

If it be allowed that the above positions, taken generally, are properly adjusted, it follows of course, that the general limits of the space through which the Greeks wandered, between the rivers *Phasis* and *Harpasus*, are also determined: but the distance between the place where the guide left them, and the crossing place of the *Phasis*, which one would suppose to have been small, is given at 7 marches! This appears to be so much out of rule, in every view of the matter, that one may suspect, that the passage is corrupted; but whether or not, it appears impossible to apply it: and it must be given up, accordingly. Diodorus affords no assistance.

* Lib. IV. c. 41. † Tournefort, Vol. III. Letter 6th.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE RIVER HARPASUS, TO TREBISONDE.

Supposed Causes of the long-continued wandering of the Greeks—*One of these, perhaps, their* system *of* Geography, *which placed their Colonies on the* Euxine, *very much too far to the* eastward *in respect of* Issus, *and* Babylon—*Probable cause of detecting their error, at the* Harpasus—*No direct intimation in the history concerning their having wandered at all—Route from the* Harpasus *by* Gymnias, *to* Trebisonde—Holy Mountain *of* Theches, *now* Teke—*Valley of* Baibort, *the seat of the* Macronians—Affecting scene, *on the* first view of the sea—Tumulus *of stones erected on the spot—Attack of the* Colchian *mountains*—Honey *in the Villages; its violent effects on the soldiers —Arrival and friendly reception of the* Greeks, *at* Trebisonde.

THE cause of the wandering of the Greeks, was obviously the loss of their guide: and the difficulty of procuring another prolonged it. At that time, they were in an uninhabited tract; and when they afterwards came to an inhabited part, a guide, if to be obtained at all, was to be hunted down; because they had no person with them, who by speaking the language of the country, could entice others to come in: and thus keep up

a succession of guides.* Generally, in the course of their marches, they appear to have had plenty of guides, even in the Carduchian mountains; for whensoever the natives opposed them, there was always a chance of taking prisoners.

When, therefore, they were left to find their way, they could only follow their own ideas of the general geography; or apply the casual, and perhaps imperfect, knowledge, derived from their former guides. And even this, if ever so correct, went no farther than to the *general line of direction*; which often differs from the *detail*.

Their ideas of the general geography, may in a great measure be collected from the systems of the times: that is, for instance, of Herodotus, who immediately preceded Xenophon; or of Eratosthenes, who lived about 200 years after him. It has already been stated, that Herodotus extended the Euxine much too far to the east: but even Eratosthenes, after the improvements made in geography, by the Macedonian conquests, supposed, (according to M. Gosselin) that the mouth of the Phasis (of *Colchis*), lay somewhat to the east of the meridian of Babylon: although in fact Babylon lay three degrees to the eastward of the other!† So that Xenophon, even had he known his true situation, in respect of Babylon, when at the foot of the *Carduchian* mountains, would have erred more than 3 points of the compass, in his estimation of the bearing of Trebisonde; which he would have supposed to

* This is spoken from the Author's personal experience.

† This is an error that has been gradually reduced; and has only been done away in the present age. As Eratosthenes erred $3\frac{1}{4}$ degrees; M. Delisle erred 2; and M. D'Anville about $1\frac{1}{4}$. The head of the Caspian sea, or at least Astrakan, is two degrees too far to the east, in M. D'Anville's latest maps.

bear about N. by E. but which in truth, bore more westerly than N. N. W. And by the same rule he might have supposed it to bear north-easterly, when the guide left them, although it bore N. W. by W. nearly.*

Thus, the position in which the Greeks found themselves at the *Harpasus*, which was so very far to the eastward of their intended line, towards Trebisonde; may be in part accounted for, from the error of the geographical system, with which they set out. But it may be supposed, that they also wandered very much in quest of provisions, in the countries of the *Taochians* and *Chaldæans*, where they were the most distressed: but perhaps still more, from the nature of the atmosphere, in an Armenian winter. For M. Tournefort says, that in *June*, there were intervals when they could scarcely see each other, for the thick fogs. The snow storms must have been equally bad, or worse. When therefore, neither sun nor stars could be seen, how could strangers even guess their way?

But it is a very remarkable circumstance, that Xenophon has not said in any place, or given any intimation, that they had wandered: insomuch that a perfect stranger to the geography, would not discover, by the text, either of Xenophon or of Diodorus, that they had ever lost their way! The whole delay, according to the history, compared with the geography, was 29 days; for they were hardly any nearer to Trebisonde when at *Gymnias*, than when the guide deserted them.

At the end of 21 days after that desertion, they are found at the *Harpasus*, (or Harpa-sou of the present times); from which

* As they continued to advance on the same line, the difference between the *real* and the *supposed* bearing, would, of course, increase.

point, they evidently *retrograded;* having, as may be conceived from this circumstance, discovered their error. And from thence they proceeded, if not *directly* towards Trebisonde, yet perhaps by the nearest convenient route.

Whether the Greeks themselves, discovered their error in respect of the position of the Black sea; or that they received their information from the natives, cannot be known; but it appears probable that they might be told by some of the prisoners, taken amongst the *Chaldæans*, who had found out their destination, that they had left the Black sea *behind them.* For an army that had been marching and countermarching, during three weeks, within the space of 150 miles, must have occasioned much speculation amongst the surrounding tribes; and their history being made known to them, the probable cause would be developed. And when the fact of the position of Trebisonde was made known to them, they might derive conviction from another source. For when they saw the *Harpasus* running to the south-east, and learnt that it received the *Araxes* (their *Phasis*); and that the collective stream continued on the same S. E. course; they would have been convinced, that those waters could not reach *that quarter* of the Black sea; since the mountains in which they had their sources, lay to the north, between them and the quarter in which the Black sea would necessarily be looked for. For, in their estimation, that sea extended eastward, even beyond their station on the *Harpasus.* It was not necessary that intelligent persons should have seen all these particulars, with their own eyes; but having seen a part, and satisfied themselves concerning the rest, conviction would readily follow.

Their *return* from the *Harpasus* must have been, in a great

part, by a different route from that, by which they came; as they went the first four days through the country of the *Scythinians:* who are then mentioned for the first time. Perhaps they may have inhabited the province of Kars, or *Chorsene.** And as nothing is now said respecting the *Chalybians*, or the *Taochians*, it must be supposed, either that their countries were avoided altogether, or that they were averse to recommencing hostilities. The Greeks provisioned themselves in the country of the *Scythinians;* and were received as friends in that of *Gymnias.* Their military character, now so well established in this quarter, might perhaps have been the means of preserving the peace.

It is not said to what country *Gymnias* belonged; but it appears to have been the capital of a district, occupying the space between *Passin* and the plain of *Chalderan.*

Their guide from *Gymnias* had promised to shew them the sea, in *five* days; and performed his promise, accordingly, when on the fifth day they ascended "*the holy mountain of Theches.*"† In their way to it, they passed through a country which was at enmity with *Gymnias:* and which appears to have extended to the foot of that mountain. The guide invited the Greeks to invade and destroy this country, which they seem to have agreed to very readily: because, on occasion of the great and universal shout raised by the van of the army, on the first view of the sea, it was believed by Xenophon, that they were attacked in front by new enemies, whilst *those they had plundered*, were following them.

In effect, considering their numbers and their necessities, it

* We ought, perhaps, to read *Scythians*, instead of *Scythinians*.

† Lib. IV. c. 41.

is rather surprising that they should have been received on a friendly footing, any where.

There is no question, respecting the situation of the mountain of *Theches;* whatsoever there may be, respecting the way by which the Greeks came to it, from the *Harpasus*. Hajy-Kalifa mentions one of the *Sanjigats* (or districts) of Erzerum, under the name of Tekman; "which has two castles." He adds, that from its great elevation, its weather is so severe, that in some years, they have no harvests: and that it lies to the northward of Erzerum.

Travellers remark the castle of Teke, situated on the crest of a ridge of high mountains, extending from east to west, and lying intermediately between Trebisonde and Erzerum. This chain is the same with that named Agatsbashi, or Agatchbashi, by Hajy-Kalifa; by whom it is said to extend from Trebisonde, to the distance of 50 farsangs, eastward. These are the *Moschi*, or *Moschica* mountains of ancient geography; and the mountain of Teke or *Theches*, is a portion of this chain; which (as we have said in page 238,) terminates on the west at cape Jorus, or Yorus, the same with the *Hieron-orus* of the ancients: and clearly identifies the *holy mountain* spoken of by Xenophon.*

Here it is proper to observe, that the ridge of Agatsbashi, is the southern boundary of the beautiful and extensive valley of Baibort, watered by the heads of the river Shorak, which is the *Apsarus* and *Bathys* of antiquity. This valley, which is

* The most distinct notice respecting the castle of *Teke*, occurs in *the new Memoirs of the Missionaries*, 1723, Vol. III. It is a day's journey to the eastward, (or E.S.E.) of *Gumish-kend*, the noted silver-mine, situated at about two journies to the S. E. of Trebisonde; and in the upper part of the great ridge of Teke or *Theches*.

said by Hajy-Kalifa to have an extent of three days journey from west to east; and is also of great breadth; is the western part of the country, anciently denominated from the *Moschi;* situated between *Iberia, Colchis, Armenia,* and the Euxine sea.

The northern boundary of the valley of Baibort, is a lower ridge of mountains, running parallel to the coast of the Euxine; at 15 to 20 miles distant; separating from the before-mentioned ridge, near the castle of Teke; and at the point where the road from the valley in question, leads over the mountain, into that of Trebisonde: in other words, the mountain of the *Colchians,* which was forced by the Greeks. This northern ridge, is at present named *Mesjidi;* most probably the same name with that of *Moschi:* but the ancients seem to have applied the name more particularly to the Agatsbashi, or southern ridge. As the country of the *Moschi* was comprised generally between these two ridges, it is possible that the same name might have been applied to both.

The valley of Baibort was anciently occupied by the *Macronians,* whose territory, according to Xenophon, bordered on M. *Theches* (Teke) on the one hand, and on the *Colchian* mountains, on the other; and according to Pliny, (Lib vi. c. 10) had the river *Apsarus* (our Shorak) flowing through it. The territory of the *Macronians* is therefore completely identified: a point of considerable importance in the present discussion.

It is not in proof from what part of the ridge of Agatsbashi (or Teke) the Greeks first saw the sea: but it has been suggested, in page 238, that it was at the place, where the great road passes over it, between Erzerum and Trebisonde; on a supposition that they came from the quarter of Comasour, regarded as *Gymnias.* But this is no more than a supposition:

and as it is possible that the reader, in conformity with the opinions of some great authorities, may believe that *Gymnias* was situated somewhere on the river Shorak *(Apsarus)* in the heart of the country of the *Moschi*, it will be proper to state that such a supposition presents a very great difficulty to the author. For if the Greeks advanced from the east, through the country of the *Moschi*, and the valley of Baibort, the mountain of Teke, would have lain very far to the southward of their route. It cannot be imagined that they would have allowed themselves to be carried thither, out of their way, and induced to climb a lofty mountain, merely to obtain a view of the sea: for as they, after marching more than three days, from M. *Theches*, ASCENDED the mountains of the *Colchians*, it is clear that they did not *keep to the mountains*, after having had a view of the sea; but descended into the *vallies:* of which the territory of the *Macronians*, through which they marched three days, appears, by the narrative of the passage through it, to have chiefly consisted. To which may be added the testimony of Pliny, that the *Macronians* were seated at the river *Apsarus;* which appears most decidedly to be the *Shorak*, which flows through the valley of Baibort; in which the *Macronians*, from all the above circumstances, ought to be looked for.

Moreover, had they advanced by the country of the *Moschi*, and the valley of the *Apsarus* (or Baibort) they must have crossed the territory of the *Macronians*, in order to arrive at M. *Theches;* which is contrary to the order of events in the history: and since the ridge of M. Teke, or *Theches*, forms the southern boundary of the *Macronians*, how can it be reconciled to the history, that the Greeks came first to M. *Theches*,

and afterwards to the *Macronians*, but by their coming from the quarter of Comasour?

The most natural supposition therefore, appears to the author to be, that the Greeks ascended the ridge of Teke in their proper road from Comasour (*Gymnias*), and descended from thence into the valley of Baibort, (that of the *Macronians*); and after somewhat more than three marches through the valley, finally ascended *from the opposite quarter*, the same mountains which M. Tournefort first came to, *after leaving the valley of Trebisonde;* and which are the *Colchian* mountains of the Greeks; so named from their forming the eastern boundary of the territory of Trebisonde; reckoned by the Greeks, a part of the country of *Colchis*, taken at large.

The summit from whence the Greeks first saw the sea, appears to have been full six ordinary marches short of Trebisonde; although the history gives little more than five very short ones. For the country through which the road led, is so strongly marked, by its mountains and vallies, in the above description; and by the space occupied by them; that if the Greeks really came by way of Comasour, there appears to be no room for doubt, concerning the distance.

In the first place, some distance is to be allowed between the *summit*, and the boundary of the *Macronians'* territory; for the guide is said to have "*shewed them the road* that led to that territory" (Lib. IV. c. 41): and to which they came, in the course of the first day's march, after the guide left them. Nor can it be supposed that their camp of the preceding evening, was on the mountain itself, but rather that they descended into the valley before they halted: whence the boundary of the *Macronians* ought to have been at a considerable

distance, from the point of view. In the next place, the Macronians "conducted them through *their* country during three "days, till they brought them to the mountains of the *Col-*"*chians;*" (c. 44). And after the Greeks had possessed themselves of the passages of these mountains, they encamped in the villages above the ascent, (where the *honey* was found) c. 45: from whence, according to the history, they made two marches *only*, to Trebisonde. (c. 46.)

But it appears from M. Tournefort's report, that the distance is no less than 38 British miles from Trebisonde to the *western* foot of the *Colchian* mountains, in the road towards Teke and Comasour (see page 237, and note);* and probably

* M. Tournefort's route from Trebisonde to Erzerum, in the suite of a Turkish Pasha, was very circuitous: not merely from choice, (although this was the smoothest road); but partly on matters of business. Leaving the valley of Trebisonde, by the east, they ascended the Mesjidi mountains, or those which shut up the valley of Baibort, on the north, and proceeded along them in an E.N.E. direction, until they descended near *Gresi*, situated in the just mentioned valley, at about 70 miles from Trebisonde, but at a day's journey only, from the sea coast; and at the northern extremity of the valley. These mountains were perfectly bare of wood; whereas the southern range (see above, page 244) appear to have derived their Turkish name of *Agatsbashi*, from their being covered with forests.*

From Gresi they proceeded southward, crossing the valley, which is remarkably well watered, by the streams that form the head of the Shorak or *Apsarus* river; and is from 35 to 40 miles in breadth in that part. On leaving the valley of Baibort they crossed the ridge of Agatsbashi, or *Teke*; (but without mentioning any name) and possibly by the same road as that by which we have supposed the Ten Thousand to have come. (See M. Tournefort's Travels, Vol. III. Letter 6.)

A second road from Trebisonde to Erzerum, leads much more direct, from the first ascent of the *Colchian* mountains, by *Arousga*, leaving the castle of *Teke* to the south, at no great distance; and crossing Agatsbashi by the same road as the former. And a

* A vast forest of timber trees in Asia Minor, penetrated by the *Sangarius* river, is named by the Turks, Agats, or Agatch-Deguiz; *i. e.* the "*Sea of Trees.*"

4 more may be allowed, from the mountain foot, to the *opposite* brow of the same mountain, on which the Greeks encamped; that is 42 miles in all; equal to three mean marches: and it has been remarked that Diodorus reports that number.

Upon the whole, therefore, one cannot suppose that the point of view, was nearer than 6 marches to Trebisonde: and the castle of Teke itself, appears, by the routes of travellers, to be about 4 marches from the same place. (See the note to page 244.)*

It is certain, that if the text of Xenophon be followed, the distance would be very much less: for no more than 17 parasangas are allowed for five marches, from their entry into the country of the *Macronians* to Trebisonde: or less than $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles for each day: when they may be supposed to have been very impatient to reach the sea; since a mere glimpse of it from a great distance, had produced such effects. The reader

third road, the most direct, but the most difficult, is by *Gumishkend* (or the silver mine) situated in the higher part of the mountain of Teke.

The shortest road is reckoned 6 ordinary journies; although M. Taverniere, from report, states it at 5. The Pasha made 13 easy journies of about 14 miles *per* day.

* It may be concluded, that the point from whence they had the first view of the Black Sea, could not be less than 45 Geographic miles (52 British) from the nearest shore: and the castle of Teke itself, about 30 British miles. Some persons may possibly doubt the fact: and in this case, it must have been such a view, as would not leave a shadow of doubt. However, travellers are aware that the sea is distinctly seen from a much greater distance. It chiefly depends on the elevation of the point of view: and that of Teke or Tekman is exceedingly elevated; as appears by the description of it by Hajy-Kalifa. (See page 244.)

Some of the ancients, according to Strabo, believed, that from the summit of mount *Argæus*, near *Cæsarea-Mazaca*, both the Mediterranean and Euxine seas could be seen. One may reasonably doubt, in respect of the Euxine, at nearly 200 miles distant; but the Mediterranean, at somewhat more than 100, was probably visible: for one can scarcely believe that there was no foundation for any part of the story.

however will, of course, decide for himself; but it is necessary to repeat, that however erroneous the opinion of the author may be, respecting the position of the *point of view;* that of the castle and mountain of Teke cannot be disputed; as it rests on the authority of travellers, and on the geographical descriptions of Hajy-Kalifa.

Xenophon's description of the scene, on the arrival of the van-guard of the army on mount *Theches*, where they caught the first glimpse of the SEA, is highly pathetic (Lib. IV. c. 41). No one, we presume, (and indeed hope,) can read it without emotion. What a number of tender ideas must have crowded at once into their minds! The thoughts of home, wives, children, friends,—thoughts which they had scarcely ventured to indulge before that moment! In a word, it was a prospect of DELIVERANCE; like an opening view of HEAVEN to DEPARTING SOULS!

Military discipline was dissolved in an instant; and the SOLDIER was lost in the MAN: for, in their eagerness to delight their eyes with a view of the sea, the whole army, not excepting the rear-guard, set a running; so that the beasts of burthen and horses were driven forwards; and the whole, forming one mass, rushed towards the summit of the mountain. To feel the full force of the description, although the facts speak so strongly for themselves, one must either be deeply read in the human heart; or, by a long course of fatigues, privations, and dangers, be fitted to sympathise with men, who had struggled so long with hunger, cold, and a succession of new enemies, from the plains of *Babylon*, to the craggs of *Caucasus!* Men who had passed a winter, and that ordinarily without cover, amidst the snows of Armenia: and

who appear in every situation, to have accomplished more than could have been expected from human means!

During the interval that discipline stood suspended, the army, of their own accord, raised a large Tumulus of stones, and erected a trophy on it. As it is very unlikely that the stones should have been dispersed, it could be wished that it was enquired after: for, as a monument of antiquity, it is nearly as curious as the *Tumulus* of Hector: and with those who disbelieve the story of the Iliad, much more so. It would be curious alone, on this ground; to see what quantity of vegetable earth has been collected on it, in the course of 22 centuries: but it would infallibly mark the line of march of the Greeks.*

The *Colchian* mountains, which separated *Colchis* from the *Macronians*, are a marked feature as well in the history, as in the geography. The place of ascent of these mountains, from the quarter of Trebisonde, remarked by M. Tournefort, is said by Hajy-Kalifa to form a pass, of such a nature as to have been sometimes shut up with a gate, and guarded. It seems not improbable that the Greeks, who advanced towards Trebisonde from the eastward, should have entered the *Colchian* territory by *the same road across the mountains*, which M. Tournefort took, in his way from Trebisonde to the eastward: and where probably there might have been a kind of *gap* in the ridge, in which the pass was situated. And it may be supposed that this *point* would have been common to either of the

* The author is sanguine enough to believe, that there would be no great difficulty in finding it; as it must doubtless be situated on some principal road, leading from Trebisonde to the eastward or south-eastward; and either on the *summit* of a mountain, or in some very elevated situation.

routes; whether the Greeks had advanced from the quarter of Comasour, or through the country of the *Moschi*. And here of course, the *Colchians* would post themselves, in order to oppose the entrance of the Greeks. It has been already remarked, that it is in this part, that the mountains separate into two diverging ridges, to inclose the valley of Baibort, and the country of the *Moschi*, generally.

The mode of attack employed by the Greeks, is well worth the attention of military men; and is exceedingly curious in itself. The *Colchians* had formed their line on the brow of the mountain: and the Greeks had originally formed theirs, at the foot of it; with a view to ascend, under that disposition. But finding that their line would not only be outflanked, by that of the enemy; but that it would also be broken, by the steepness, and difficult nature of certain parts of the ascent; it was deemed necessary to make a total change in the mode of attack.

The new disposition, was that of forming the whole of the heavy-armed men, into columns of about 100 men each; and these were placed at such a distance from each other, as to form a *line of columns*, that would outflank the enemy; at the same time, that the columns were near enough to derive support from each other, if required. The light troops were formed in three bodies, of about 600 each; of which two were placed beyond the extremities of the line, and the third in the centre. By this mode, each column being at liberty to seek its own way, was enabled to ascend by a part of the mountain that was found the easiest of access.

The attack succeeded accordingly. Cheirisophus and Xenophon had posted themselves at the head of the two light-

armed divisions, which were placed on the flanks: and of course, beyond the enemy's line: and these, as it may be concluded, advanced with greater celerity, than the heavy-armed could possibly do. Hence the enemy, fearing to be taken in flank, filed off to the right and left, in such numbers as to leave a great void in their centre; which the central division of the light armed took advantage of, and running forward, gained the summit: after which the enemy made little resistance. (Lib. IV. c. 44.)*

The Greeks having gained the summit, encamped in the Colchian villages on the mountain: and here the honey was found, which produced those violent and extraordinary effects on those who eat of it. (c. 45.) It is well understood that this honey, is made from the flowers of a species of *Rhododendros*; which M. Tournefort saw, and describes, on his way from the river Sackariah (*Sangarius*), to some distance beyond Trebisonde. But it is worthy of remark, that he saw the plants after he ascended the mountains, beyond Trebisonde; which we have supposed to be the same, with those on which the Greeks encamped, after they had possessed themselves of the passage. For, on the day on which he ascended the mountain, he remarks, that two sorts, with purple, and with yellow flowers, frequently appeared by the side of streams.† He observes, in another part of the book, that the natives have an idea, that the honey made from the purple flowers, stupifies those who eat of it, and causes lethargies: as also, that the effluvia of the flower, produces dizziness.

* M. Larcher, Vol. I. p. 332, says, "Cette disposition est très-savante, et doit être "méditée par tous ceux qui se destinent au commandement des armées."

† M. Tournefort's Travels, Vol. III. Letter 6.

It appears extraordinary, that no enquiry has been made concerning the use to which the honey was applied. Is it used in small quantities, to produce gentle intoxication; as a substitute for opium?

The reception of the Ten Thousand by the people of Trebisonde, was the most hospitable imaginable: but they were unable to supply such an army, for any continuance, from their own proper stores. The Greeks, therefore, plundered those of the *Colchians*, who were not in alliance with the people of Trebisonde. Such a proceeding was to be feared at all events; but more so, as the *Colchians* had themselves originally provoked the hostility of the Greeks, by the opposition given to them, on the frontier.

Trebisonde, or rather *Trapezus*, which was its ancient Greek name,* was situated "in the country of the *Colchians*;" and was a colony from *Sinope*, which was itself a colony of the *Milesians*. It derives its historical fame, more from the circumstance of its receiving the Ten Thousand, after their wonderful retreat, than from having been the capital of a portion of the Lower Empire: since the former event fills the mind with ideas of a more lofty and magnificent kind.

It is still a place of some consideration. For a description of modern Trebisonde, see Tournefort's Travels, Vol. III.; and M. De Beauchamp's Voyage, in the *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, Vol. II.†

* The eastern nations, generally, are said to call it *Trabezon*.

† The territory which included Trebisonde, continued to bear the name of *Colchis* down to the time of Arrian; although the tribes of *Heniochi* and *Sydratæ* lay between it and the river *Apsarus*, generally reckoned the western boundary of the *proper Colchis*. Perhaps, the districts of those tribes, may have once formed a part of

Colchis; they occupying the narrow slip of country, between the *Moschian* mountains, and the sea; and thus Trebisonde became an extension of the *proper*, or *Phasian Colchis*.

According to Xenophon, *Colchis* extended to the distance of three marches, westward from Trebisonde. He even includes *Cerazunte*, (or Kirason) in it: but this is an error, as will be shewn.

The *Machelones* (of Arrian) said to border on the *Colchians*, are probably the *Macrones* of Xenophon and Pliny. (See the Periplus of the Euxine Sea.)

CHAPTER XV.

THE GREEKS PROCEED FROM TREBISONDE TO BYZANTIUM. THEIR WINTER CAMPAIGN WITH SEUTHES, IN THRACE: AND THE TERMINATION OF THE EXPEDITION, BY THEIR JUNCTION WITH THE NATIONAL ARMY OF GREECE, IN ASIA MINOR.

The TEN THOUSAND *remain a whole month at* Trebisonde—*From thence, the army in general, marches along the coast, to* Cotyora, *in their way to* Byzantium; *the remainder, with the baggage, accompany them in ships—Warfare amongst the* Mosynoecians—*Visit* Cerazunt *or* Cerasus; *called also* Pharnacia—Cotyora, *the term of the Land Expedition from* Trebisonde; *the whole army embarking at that place—Pass the* Jasonium *promontory, where the* Argonauts *landed—Mouths of the rivers* Thermodon *and* Halys—*Anchor in* Harmene, *a port of* Sinope *(now Akliman)—Second Voyage, which carries them to* Heraclea *of* Pontus—*Here they divide into three bodies; one going by land, two by sea—The division composed of* Peloponnesians, *lands at* Calpé *in* Bithynia, *on a predatory expedition—The greater part of them cut off by the natives; the remainder saved by the sudden appearance of Xenophon's Division—The three divisions again unite, at* Calpé—Calpé *a kind of* Gibraltar; *and with the same Greek name—Death of* Cheirisophus—*March to* Chrysopolis,

at the Bosphorus *of* Thrace—*Critical situatian of the Greek army there; and at* Byzantium—*Compelled by want, to enter the service of* Seuthes, *a Prince of* Thrace—*Make a* winter campaign *of two months*—Salmydessus, *famous for shipwrecks* —*The remains of the army, now reduced to about* 6000 *men (out of* 12,800*), are engaged to join the Grecian* national *army, under* Thimbron; *who had taken the field against he Persians—They proceed, accordingly, by way of* Lampsacus, Troas, *and* Adramyttium, *to* Pergamus—XENOPHON *from a state of actual* poverty, *finally* enriched *by a* capture.

AFTER staying 30 days at Trebisonde, the main body of the Greek army marched by land towards *Byzantium;* first sending on board the ships which they had collected, all the sick persons; the men above 40 years of age; the women and children; and such of the baggage as was not absolutely necessary on the march. (Lib. V. c. 11.)

The history brings the army, at the end of the *third* march, to *Cerazunt* or *Cerasus:* and afterwards in the course of the march (without notice of time or distance) to the borders of the *Mosynœcians.* Through their country, it is said they made 8 marches; which brought them to the *Chalybians*, who inhabited a small district: and finally to *Cotyora*, situated in that of the *Tiburenians.* (Lib. V. c. 20.)

Here then, are 11 marches given, besides the space whose length is not recorded; and yet the whole distance between *Trebisonde* and the site of *Cotyora*, is no more than 8 or 9 ordinary marches. Nor is the error in the aggregate distance the only one: for *Cerazunt* is nearer 6 than 3 marches (as is represented in the history), from Trebisonde. Arrian allows

745 stades: but although this distance is over-rated, yet Kirason, which is doubtless the same place, is, according to M. De Beauchamp, at least 60 G. miles in direct distance, from Trebisonde; or equal to very nearly 6 ordinary marches.*

There are yet, other difficulties. *Cerazunt* is said to be situated within the country of the *Colchians*. (Lib. V. c. 11.) If this was correct, *Colchis* would be extended westward to an improbable length: nor would there be room for the districts of the *Mosynœci*, *Chalybes*, and *Tibureni*, between *Cerazunt* and *Cotyora*; which places are not more than about 30 G. miles distant from each other.†

It must therefore be concluded, either that Xenophon wrote entirely from recollection, which sometimes failed him; or that his notes were intermixed and confused: as appears in another place, where he describes the *Jasonian* shore, and the mouths of the *Thermodon* and *Halys* rivers, to be to the *west* of *Sinope*, instead of the east.

There is no question, however, but that *Cerazunt* was visited by the Grecian army; for they halted there 10 days; during

* The southern coast of the Euxine, from the canal of Constantinople to Trebisonde, was traced by M. De Beauchamp, in 1797; and was corrected in 15 different points, by celestial observations; or by time-keepers. See *Mém. Egypt.* Vol. II. The *tracing* of the coast, was obligingly procured for the author, by the favour of M. Otto, in 1802.

The author is indebted to his friend, Dr. Charles Wilkins, for a translation of the modern names of places, along the southern and eastern coasts of the Euxine; from a Turkish chart of that sea, drawn by Ibrahim Effendi, in 1729. They are there written in the Arabic character: and it may be observed, by the specimens given in the Map No. II. how close an agreement there is, between the *roots* of the modern names, in the Turkish Map; and those of the ancient Greek names, in the *Periplus* of Arrian. The names at large, which are very numerous, will appear in a Memoir on the subject of that Periplus.

† According to Arrian 330 stades.

which time there was a review, and an account of their numbers taken. There was also, a distribution of prize money. And we learn also, that whilst the camp was at *Cotyora*, individuals of it were in the habit of going to *Cerazunt;* a certain indication that it was not within three marches of Trebisonde. Moreover, Xenophon speaks as if they had met with no interruption, between *Cerazunt* and *Cotyora;* when he says, "This "happened the same day on which we left *Cerazunt*, to march "hither."* If, according to the order of the events in the history, they had made war on the hostile tribe of the *Mosynœci*, after they had left *Cerazunt;* Xenophon, in all probability, would not have spoken in the above manner, respecting the march. But perhaps, the best proof of the existence of an error, is, the want of space for the 8 marches through the country of the *Mosynœci*, between *Cerazunt* and the *Chalybes*, &c.

It may be supposed, therefore, that the first three marches from Trebisonde, brought the Greeks to *Coralla* (now Korabali), which might well be within the boundary of *Colchis;* and that the minutes or notes for the journal, *from thence*, may have been lost: so that Xenophon confounded the former with *Cerazunt*. That they afterwards came to the border of the *hostile Mosynœcians;* and successively to that of the *friendly* tribe of the same name: and that the 8 days said to be employed in *marching*, were rather the number of days employed altogether, *amongst* those tribes: and which included both the warfare, and the time of waiting for the arrival of the flotilla of their allies.†

It may be suspected that *Cerazunt* was situated within the territory of the friendly *Mosynœci*. For Xenophon speaks of

* See Lib. V. c. 34. † C. 15.

" towns upon the mountains, belonging to the *barbarians*, who " were in alliance with the people of *Cerazunt*;" and with which the people of the camp had a friendly communication. These towns, therefore, we conclude, belonged to the friendly *Mosynœcians*: for the mountaineers at 3 marches from Trebisonde, were the *Drilians*, with whom the Greeks had waged actual war, whilst at Trebisonde.

Cerazunt, which was also called *Cerasus*, and *Pharnacia*, was a colony of the *Sinopeans*. It has been celebrated on occasion of its having produced the cherry trees, which were said to have been first introduced into Europe by Lucullus.

The country of the *Mosynœcians* is described by Xenophon as consisting of a succession of very deep, hollow vallies, with fortified posts on the intervening heights. The *Mosynœcians* were thought by the Greeks, to have been, in point of manners, the farthest removed from civilization, of any tribe, with whom they had communicated in the course of their expedition. (Lib. V. c. 19.)

The precise site of *Cotyora*, is not known in modern geography; but its general position cannot be misunderstood; since according to Arrian, it was 180 stades to the eastward of the promontory of *Jasonium*; 330 to the westward of *Cerasus*: the former of which is so well known, under the modern name of Jasoun, or Yassoun; the latter under that of Kirason. At the time of Arrian's visit, it was only a small village. Four centuries and upwards, may be expected to make great changes in the condition of a city: but it is possible that it might never have recovered from the effects of the visit of the Ten Thousand.

From *Cotyora*, the Greeks " having collected as many ships

" as were necessary, embarked and sailed with a fair wind,
" all that day, and the next night; keeping *Paphlagonia* on
" their left hand:* and the day after, they arrived at *Sinope*,
" and anchored in *Harmene*,† one of its ports." (Lib. vi. c. 4.)
It appears that a passage which occurs afterwards (in chapter 10,) ought to have been inserted here; namely, that in their passage " they saw the *Jasonian* shore (or *promontory*) where " the ship *Argo* is said to have come to land:‡ and the mouths

* The country of *Paphlagonia* at this time, extended much farther to the east than in Roman times; when the *Halys*, at its *embouchure*, formed the common boundary of *Paphlagonia* and *Pontus*. For the Greeks, whilst at *Cotyora*, foraged within the limits of *Paphlagonia:* and that it extended to the eastward of the *Thermodon* river, is shewn in Lib. V. c. 26. It is probable that the *pass* mentioned by *Hecatonymus* was situated in the mountains that bound the plain of *Themiscyra*, on the east; and that the plains said to lie beyond the pass, were those of *Themiscyra*. (See also c. 1. and 21.)

† *Harmene*, now Ak-Liman (the *white port*) is a sheltered anchorage at 4 or 5 miles to the northward of *Sinope:* and is in effect the same to the bays of Sinope, that Ramsgate pier is to the Downs; there being no sheltered anchorage at Sinope itself with certain winds.

Sinope is still known by the name of *Sinub*. This city, so highly celebrated in ancient history, as the first in point of rank, of the Grecian colonies within the Euxine, was founded by the Milesians. At present it is in a low state of decay, though not utterly extinguished, like its parent city. It is situated at about 20 miles to the S. E. of cape Indgé; and so placed, as to occupy the Isthmus of a peninsula, about 6 miles in length, which affords cultivated land, pasturage, and security to their cattle, in the event of a siege: at the same time that it has a bay for anchorage, on either side of the town.

The reader will find many curious particulars relating to its modern state, in M. Tournefort's 3d volume; and in M. De Beauchamp's account of his voyage, to and from Trebisonde, in the 2d vol. of the *Mém. sur l'Egypte*.

‡ See Apollonius Rhodius, Lib. II. and Strabo, p. 548. See also Pliny, Lib. VI. c. 4. This promontory projects so far from the general direction of the coast, and from the deep gulphs on both sides of it, as to present to navigators, when opposite to it, the appearance of an island. It therefore seems perfectly natural, that the Argonauts should have landed there, in preference to many other places. It is named *Genetes* by Apollo-

"of several rivers; first that of the *Thermodon*, then of the "*Halys*"—because these objects really occur between *Cotyora* and *Sinope;* and not between *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, as the text has it. In whatsoever way this transposition happened, there can be no doubt, what the *true reading* ought to have been.

Two days are stated in the history, as the time employed in the passage from *Harmene* to *Heraclea* (of *Pontus*). After this, the rivers *Thermodon* and *Halys* are mentioned, as above said; but which are misplaced; and then the *Parthenius*, which really occurred within that interval. And "having sailed by "the last, they arrived at *Heraclea*, a Greek city, and a colo-"ny of the *Megareans;* situated in the country of the *Maryan-"dinians.*"* (Lib. VI. c. 10.)

The time employed in the voyage from *Cotyora* to *Harmene* (the port of *Sinope*) is said to have been two days, with the intervening night: and it being in the month of June, when the night was so short, that they might have sailed on, uninterruptedly, during the whole included interval; the time may be regarded as equal to nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ ordinary days' sail. And

nius and Strabo; and Pliny speaks of the *Genetæ* as a people. A tribe of this name still exists, in the country within Kirason (*ol. Cerasus*); and it appears probable that the modern name of the province of *Janik*, (which includes generally the sea coast of *Pontus*) is derived from *Genetes*. M. De Beauchamp remarked an *ancient square tower*, on the pitch of the cape.

* *Heraclea*, distinguished by the addition of *Pontus*, has filled the page of history by its grandeur and by its misfortunes: and its remains testify its former importance. It is now named *Arakali*, and also *Pendaracby*, a corruption of Pont-Arakali. For an account of its remains, see M. Tournefort's Travels, Vol. III; and also M. De Beauchamp, in *Mém. sur l'Egypte*. Vol. II.

M. Larcher has been led into an error, respecting the river *Lycus*, at *Heraclea*, in his first note on chapter 10 of the *Anab*. Lib. VI. It is a different river from the *Lycus* of *Armenia*.

the *coasting* distance being about 142 G. miles, the mean rate may be taken at about 41 per day.* According to the above statement, they must have passed the mouth of the *Thermodon* river, in full day-light on the *first* day : and that of the *Halys* during day-light of the *second;* but the *Iris* would have been passed during the night; which may account for its not being mentioned; for it lies at the head of a deep bay or gulf, whilst the others are at projecting parts of the coast; and also form very extensive mud banks in the sea; which could not fail to attract attention.†

A like portion of time, as is said before, was employed between *Sinope* and *Heraclea:* and which being a coasting distance of 190 miles, requires a rate of 54 instead of 41. It may be remarked, that the *Billæus* river is not noticed by Xenophon any more than by *Hecatonymus* of Sinope, in his description of the way between *Cotyora* and *Heraclea:* probably because it was too shallow, to present any impediment to the march. (Lib. V. c. 26.)

From *Heraclea*, the Greeks set out in three distinct bodies for *Byzantium.* One of 4500 and upwards, consisting of *Arcadians* and *Achaians*; *all heavy-armed*, set out by sea, in order

* The *mean* daily rate of sailing of ancient ships has been taken from a number of examples, at 37 Geog. miles, or between 440 and 450 Grecian itinerary stades. (See *the Geog. System of Herodotus*, p. 31, and 679.) Five hundred stades have sometimes been stated roundly, as a day's sail of a ship of those times : equal to about 42 Geog. miles.

† The rivers here mentioned by Xenophon retain nearly the same names to the present times : as the *Thermodon*, now Tarmeh; the *Parthenius*, Partin, or Bartin. The *Halys* was *nick-named* from its saline quality; as at present by the Turks *Kizil*, or *Red* river : for Atoe-sou appears to be its real name, in the country through which it flows.

to come upon the *Bithynians*, unawares: for they had concerted a predatory expedition merely for the sake of booty; and had placed themselves under the orders of *ten* commanders, who aided their design. They landed at the port of *Calpé*, said (Lib. VI. c. 21) to be situated in the *Asiatic Thrace*; by which the country of the *Thynians* of *Asia* is intended; in other words, *Bithynia;* which formed a part of the dominions of Persia, under the government of Pharnabazus. *Calpé* is also said to have been situated midway between *Heraclea* and *Byzantium.*

A second body of 2100, of whom 1400 were heavy-armed, marched with Cheirisophus, through the territory of *Heraclea* (or of the *Maryandini*); and thence entering *Thrace*, kept to the sea-coast: and the third body, under Xenophon, consisting of 2040, of whom 1700 were heavy-armed, proceeded by sea, and landed on the common frontier of *Heraclea* and *Thrace*;* supposed to be the river *Sangarius*: from whence he marched through the interior country, towards *Chrysopolis* and *Byzantium.*

* As the text stands, there appears to be a contradiction between the sections 10, 14, and 21, of Lib. VI. respecting the extent of *Asiatic Thrace*. *Calpé* is said to be "situated about the middle of *Thrace*," in 14: and in 21, *Thrace* is said "to begin at "the *Bosphorus* and to extend as far as *Heraclea*." Again in 14, Xenophon is said to have "landed upon the *confines of Thrace: and of the territory of Heraclea:*" and that Cheirisophus, "leaving *Heraclea* travelled through the country; but when he "arrived in *Thrace*, he kept near the sea." Moreover in c. 10, it is said that *Heraclea* "is situated in the country of the *Maryandinians*." We can only understand that it was a mistake to say that *Calpé* was situated *in the middle of Thrace*; and that the description in 21, is more correct, where it is said that "*Calpé* lies *midway between Byzantium* "and *Heraclea*." For if *Calpé* lay in the middle of *Thrace*, that country must have extended nearly to *Heraclea*; which the voyage of Xenophon, as well as the march of Cheirisophus disproves. It is most probable that the territory of *Heraclea* extended to the *Sangarius*, where *Asiatic Thrace* began.

The army of the *Arcadians* and *Achaians* advancing a few miles into the country from *Calpé*, after plundering the villages around, were attacked, and two of their divisions completely cut off, by the *Bithynian* light troops; who were enabled to choose their distance; the others consisting, as is said before, of heavy-armed alone. The remainder, besieged on a hill, were only saved by the sudden appearance of Xenophon's division. They then retreated to *Calpé*, at which place Cheirisophus being also arrived, the remains of this army were once more re-united; though with the loss of about 900 men on the part of the *Arcadians* and *Achaians*.

Here, the force of the country being collected against them, they were in some danger of perishing through hunger, 500 more being cut off, in their first attempt to forage. But fighting a general battle with the enemy, they gained a complete victory, and were no longer molested. Thus they were compelled to fight for subsistence, even to "*the gates of Greece.*"

Calpé, their present place of rendezvous, is fully described by Xenophon (Lib. VI. c. 21): and is also mentioned by Arrian in his Periplus. It appears to be the present port of Kirpé, or Garpah. The description of this place by Xenophon, agreeing in so many points, with that of *Gibraltar*, whose ancient name also was *Calpé*, leads one to conclude that the term was descriptive of the nature of the place, in both. At this place Cheirisophus died; having been long ill.

From *Calpé*, the Greeks marched through *Bithynia*, unmolested, to *Chrysopolis*, opposite to *Byzantium*, in 6 days: which, by the distance, allows a mean rate of $13\frac{1}{4}$ British miles *per* day. They are supposed to have arrived about the beginning of August, B. C. 400.

The condition of the Greeks after their arrival at the *Bosphorus*, was very unpleasant; and in some degree critical: for on one side they had the *Bithynians*, and whatsoever power the Persians possessed in that quarter, for open enemies; and on the other side, the Lacedæmonian power, newly erected in *Byzantium*, for treacherous friends. The Persian governor of *Bithynia (Pharnabazus)*, was justly uneasy at their being on his side of the water; and therefore intrigued with the Lacedæmonian admiral, Anaxibius, to carry them across, into Europe. This he effected, by the promise of pay; which he never performed: so that they were reduced to the necessity of subsisting, by "taking provisions out of the villages "of the Thracians:" in other words, by plunder. For they had been thrust out of *Byzantium;* and but for the address and resolution of Xenophon, would have plundered it, in resentment of the ill usage they had received there. At this time the Lacedæmonians, by the termination of the *Peloponnesian* war, being complete masters of Greece and its colonies, ruled in *Byzantium*, as every where else, with a high hand; and even sold for slaves, 400 soldiers of the Grecian army, who had been left there sick. (Lib. VII. c. 16.)

Anaxibius, in resentment of a slight which he had received from Pharnabazus, was taking steps towards conveying the army back again into Asia: and for this purpose had directed the troops to be conducted to *Perinthus* (afterwards called *Heraclea)* on the *Propontis*. But the new governor of *Byzantium*, Aristarchus, prevented it, in favour of Pharnabazus: the two officers of government, thus counteracting each other.

In this dilemma, from the want of subsistence, and of regular employment, the Greeks were compelled through necessity

to enter the service of the *barbarian* Seuthes; a petty prince of *Thrace*, and governor of the *European Thracians*, subject to the king of Persia. His proper territory appears to have consisted of a large part of that triangular space, situated between the approximating parts of the *Euxine* and *Propontis*, above *Byzantium*: but chiefly on the side towards the *Propontis*. As he offered (or affected to offer) to Xenophon, the towns of *Bisanthe* (Rodosto) and *Ganos*, his dominions must have extended along the *Propontis*, as far to the west as the *holy* mountain of *Ganos*.

In his service they continued upwards of two months; during which time they reconquered for him, his paternal inheritance.

It is not easy to trace the route of the Greeks during this short campaign. Seuthes was at first encamped at 60 stadia distant from *Perinthus*, inland. From thence they marched to attack "*the mountain Thracians;*" and having gained the summit, descended into the plain of the *Thyni*. Thence they marched into "the *country* called the *Delta*, belonging to the "*Thracians*, who lie above *Byzantium:*" and from thence, against "the *upper Thracians;*" and "with the Euxine sea on their right hand, they arrived at *Salmydessus.*"* This appears to be the most distant point of their march from *Perinthus;* and is very far short of *seven* marches; though Seuthes says, in answer to a question of Xenophon's, that he shall not go to a greater distance than *that* from *the sea.*† The *Propontis*, no doubt, is to be understood; the sea, on whose shore they then were: in other words, the distance from the original place of outset, of the Greeks. The *Euxine* could not have been in the contemplation of Seuthes.

* Lib. VII. c. 41, and 44. † C. 25.

It would appear then, that the *mountain Thracians* should be the inhabitants of the mountainous ridge lying north from *Heraclea* (or *Perinthus*); and extending between the *Euxine* and the *Hebrus*, from the quarter of Kirk-kilissa, to that of Midya, or *Salmydessus*. That having crossed this ridge, they descended into the plains between it and the Euxine: and which may be the plain of the *Thynians*; as we find a corresponding narrow tract along the Euxine, on the east of the *Bosphorus*, named from the *Thyni*. There was also a town named *Thynias*, on the sea-coast within the tract described by Xenophon: now called Aineada.

It would, however, appear at first sight, as if the country of the *Thynians* was that in which Xenophon first met Seuthes; that is, near *Perinthus*: but in the progress of the army, no *Thynians* are heard of, until they had passed the mountains. (Lib. VII. c. 34.)

The *Delta* we cannot but regard as the triangular space between the *Euxine*, the *Propontis*, and the *Bosphorus*; and which has *Byzantium* at the lower extremity: perhaps the tract generally, which the Emperor Anastasius afterwards shut up on the land side, with a wall. It is true that M. D'Anville referred this to the *triangular point* of *Dercon*, or Derkous: but it is not only styled a *country*, by Xenophon (Lib. vii. c. 41); but Cyratades, in the same book, (c. 11) proposed to carry the army thither, from *Perinthus*, in order to enrich them with the booty. This of course is only applicable to a tract of some extent; and not to a mere point of land. One month of their service had expired, whilst they were in the *Delta*.

This position of the *Delta*, is moreover strengthened, by what follows: for they marched from thence, keeping the

Euxine on their right hand, to *Salmydessus*; now *Mydia*. (C. 44). At this place, shipwrecks were so common in those days; (and indeed that whole coast is very dangerous at present; from the *apparent* necessity of keeping close to the shore, to prevent missing the narrow entrance of the *Bosphorus*); that the *Thracians* of the coast (the *Thynians*) raised pillars, in the nature of land-marks or boundaries; in order to point out each man's jurisdiction; that when wrecks came to land, there might be no disputes concerning the property of them. (C. 44.)*

* According to the Poet:

—" rich shipwrecks bless the lucky shore."

The same state of things having existed at all times, on that particular part of the coast; it must be owing to some natural cause, perpetually operating. This cause, without doubt, is in the first instance, the necessity, real or supposed, of keeping close to the shore, in order not to miss the mouth of the *Bosphorus*. This, of course, subjects them to be *embayed*, in a situation, where the frequency of boisterous sea-winds, places them on a very dangerous *lee shore*: and where the *general surface* of the sea, is in motion, towards the opening of the canal of Constantinople; impelling them towards it.

The author is informed, by a correspondent at Constantinople, that there are two lofty hills on the Asiatic side of the strait, which furnish *a line of direction*, on which ships, from a distant offing in the Black sea, may run securely in, to the opening of the strait, or canal. Of course, in clear weather, there need not be any danger incurred, either of missing it, or of being embayed on a lee shore: and in thick weather, prudence would dictate the measure of keeping aloof, until a more favourable season.

There is yet another serious danger, occasioned by the mistake of a small bay, for the mouth of the canal, in thick weather. This bay is much nearer to *Salmydessus* than to the canal.

Xenophon in the same place, speaking of the articles found with the people who plunder the wrecks, says, there are many " *books* and several other things, which the sailors " are accustomed to carry in their chests." M. Larcher wishes to substitute *cordage* for *books*; from the similitude of the two names, in the Greek, and the improbability

From *Salmydessus*, the Greek army, with Seuthes, returned towards the *Propontis;* and encamped in the neighbourhood of *Selymbra*. It is not said, by what route they returned.

Two months had now nearly elapsed, since their engagement with Seuthes, when commissioners from the Lacedæmonians, came to engage the army to join that of Thimbron, in Asia Minor; with an intent of making war on Tissaphernes. Seuthes, by this time, had no further use for the Greeks; so that both parties were content to separate: but Seuthes, like a true barbarian, withheld the pay which he had agreed to give; and it was not without much difficulty that any part of it was obtained. The pay agreed for, was a *Cyzicene* (about 18 shillings) per month, for each private man, 2 for the captains, and 4 for the generals. The pay now agreed for, by the Lacedæmonian commissioners, was a *Daric* instead of a *Cyzicene*; and was of the value of somewhat less than 13 shillings; and although little more than two thirds of the former pay, yet the proposal was said to be received by the soldiers with satisfaction. For in this case, they felt that they were in the immediate service of their country; that is, Greece at large: but in the former, they found themselves fighting for objects, with which their country had no concern: or it might happen, which were contrary to its general interests. Such distinctions have been made at all times: and is a proof,

of there being such a plenty of books in that age, as to constitute an article of commerce, &c. But sailors do not carry *cordage* in their chests; and it appears probable that the sailors had books for their use or amusement, as at the present day. The people who navigated the Euxine at that time, were generally Greeks. So that, by his translation, an interesting anecdote is lost.

that patriotism resides in the breasts of the lowest orders of the community.*

It is not said at what place the army embarked for Asia Minor: but as *Perinthus* was the port first intended by Anaxibius, it was probably there. Xenophon, who now conducted the army, landed at *Lampsacus*, and proceeded thence by *Troas*, *Antandrus*, and *Adramyttium*, to *Pergamus*. At *Parthenium*, or near it, he afterwards was joined by Thimbron, the Lacedæmonian general, with the rest of the Grecian forces; the whole composing the army destined to attack the Persian provinces in Asia Minor, which were subject to the command of Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, their governors.

In this age of luxury and frivolity, in matters of expense (but which, for the best of reasons, cannot be charged upon the military), many will smile, at hearing that Xenophon, who, it might perhaps be supposed, must have had opportunities of enriching himself in the course of the expedition; yet, whilst in the act of conducting the army to its rendezvous, was compelled to sell his favourite horse, to raise money to pay his expenses on the road! Such was the character of the times, when a general officer received no more than four times the pay of a private soldier! They will however, be gratified to find, that before the arrival of Thimbron, Xenophon made a capture, in the plain of *Pergamus*, which not only rendered his circumstances easy; but "enabled him to oblige a friend." (Lib. VII. c. 61).

* Lib. VII. c. 22. Nothing can shew the striking difference between the customs of ancient and modern times, more than the fact of a captain having only double the pay of the private soldier; and the general only four times the pay of the private. The *proportions* in the regular service of Greece, appear to have been precisely the same.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONCERNING THE NUMBERS OF THE GRECIAN AUXILIARIES, EMPLOYED IN THE EXPEDITION: AND WHAT PROPORTION OF THEM, FINALLY REMAINED. ALSO CONCERNING THE DATES OF THE EVENTS AND TRANSACTIONS.

The Numbers *of the* Grecian Auxiliaries *appear to have been corrupted, in certain places, in the copies of the* Anabasis—*About* two thirds *of the original number reach the place of Embarkation, at the conclusion of the* Retreat; *but not much more than* half *remained, when they joined* Thimbron—*The* Seasons *in which the events took place, collected from the several circumstances of* 1. *The* low state *of the* Euphrates, *when they crossed it at* Thapsacus; 2. *the* ripening *of the* dates, *whilst in the* Babylonian *villages;* 3. *the coming on of the* severe weather *of the* first *winter, in* Armenia; *and of the* second *in* Thrace—*The* Expedition *and* Retreat *employed full* two years—*Supposed* dates *of the principal* transactions.

CONCLUSION.—*Some Remarks on the foregoing History—Much to be learnt from it, by every description of Persons—No Recital so well calculated to inspire Confidence in our own Resources.*

SINCE the numbers of the Grecian Auxiliaries, as they stand in the copies of the *Anabasis*, at different periods of the

expedition and retreat, are, in some cases, evidently erroneous; it may be proper to say a word, here, in addition to what has been already said in the course of the Enquiry.

It has appeared in page 111, that the numbers at the review, before the battle of *Cunaxa*, were 10,400 heavy-armed men, and 2400 light-armed: total 12,800.*

No *enumeration* took place between that and *Cerazunt*: but the numbers are given by *computation*, at the ascent of the *Colchian* mountains. And the last statement of the numbers, is on occasion of the separation of the army at *Heraclea*.

At the Colchian frontier, when drawn up in columns, for the attack of the mountain, Xenophon says (Lib. IV. c. 45), "they amounted to *about* 80 companies of heavy-armed; each "of which consisted of *nearly* 100 men; the targeteers and archers were divided into three bodies of nearly 600 each."— Hence the heavy-armed may perhaps be taken at 7700, at least; and the light-armed at nearly 1800: Total 9500.

At *Cerazunt* (Lib. V. c. 11), the *total* number was said to be 8600. And Xenophon adds, "These were all that were "saved, out of about Ten Thousand: the rest were destroyed "by the enemy, and by the snow: and some by sickness."†

* Diodorus reckons the Greeks roundly at 13,000 (Lib. XIV.), which has a near agreement with this statement. The numbers given at the outset of the expedition, in the *Anabasis* are therefore probably wrong. (See above, page 25.)

The principal part of the men who composed this army; at least of the heavy armed, were *Peloponnesians*. Xenophon says, Lib. VI. c. 12, "It was true that the *Arcadians* and *Achaians* made above half of the army." Of the remains of the army, at *Heraclea*, 4500 out of 8640, were either *Arcadians or Achaians*.

† It may be supposed from Xenophon's manner of speaking, that a great number perished in the snow.

Three hundred and sixty had deserted to the Persians, in Babylonia, &c. and of these 340 were *Thracians*.

M. Larcher translates 8600 *heavy-armed:* on a supposition that this enumeration did not include the light armed. But Mr. Spelman translates "*soldiers;*" meaning, (it may be supposed) the bulk of the army. And as the number of heavy-armed, at the Colchian mountains, *appeared* to Xenophon (Lib. IV. c. 45), to be *about* 80 companies of nearly 100 men each; perhaps 7700; there could not of course be 8600 of that description, at *Cerazunt.*

Moreover, it will be found, that the numbers at *Heraclea,* agree perfectly with those at *Cerazunt,* the *total* being the same: whilst the two classes of heavy and light are distinguished; and prove incontestibly, that the light armed were included in the total of 8600 at *Cerazunt.* For at *Heraclea,* the heavy-armed were only 7600; and the light armed 1000. Now the interval of time between the two, was only about 10 weeks; in which time no hostility had occurred excepting some trifling matters with the *Paphlagonians* at *Cotyora, &c.*

But the diminution of the light armed, between the ascent of the *Colchian* mountains, and *Heraclea,* is very considerable. At the former, Xenophon reckoned three bodies of nearly 600 each, or a total of about 1800; but at *Heraclea,* 1000 only are found: and, no doubt, the number was the same at *Cerazunt;* since the totals agree. So that the great loss on the part of these troops, must have been *chiefly* during the predatory expeditions, for provisions and necessaries, at Trebisonde, during a whole month; and in some degree amongst the hostile tribe of *Mosynœcians.* For it may be seen, that the light troops were constantly exposed; and accordingly suffered in proportion: there being 7600, out of 10,400 heavy-armed, remaining;

or about *three-fourths* of the whole: but of the light-armed 1000 only, out of 2400; or little more than *two-fifths*.

The losses suffered in *Bithynia*, which were equal to 1400, reduced the Greeks to about 7200, at their arrival at *Byzantium*: or perhaps, allowing for natural deaths and accidents, there might have been 7100 passed over from Asia. This calculation is borne out by a remark of Xenophon's, when he says (Lib. VII. c. 54), that Seuthes, by a just mode of conduct towards the Greeks, "might be praised by *six thousand* men." This was at the close of the Thracian campaign; in which none of the Greeks were either killed or taken prisoners (c. 48): and if we deduct from 7100 men, (the supposed number that crossed over from *Chrysopolis,)* the 800 withdrawn by Neon, and the 400 sold for slaves by the *unfeeling* governor of *Byzantinm*, (a *Lacedæmonian*; c. 16, and 18,) the number serving with Seuthes, would be 5900: which would justify the expression of Xenophon; who, of course, on such an occasion, would speak only of a round number. It may also be concluded that, if the corps of Neon rejoined him, together with such of the slaves as could be redeemed,* Xenophon would have carried between 6700 and 7000 men, to Thimbron.

The seasons in which the foregoing events took place, are only to be collected from circumstances; there being no positive information concerning them: save only that the campaign with Seuthes, is said to have been made during the depth of winter. There are, however, three other circumstances, by which, collectively, one may arrive at some degree of certainty, concerning the seasons: but none that will fix

* But of these, nothing is said.

the time with exactness. And, notwithstanding the additional information, respecting the campaign with Seuthes, yet the interval between it and the former transactions, is too loosely given, to afford the means of connecting them together.

The fording of the Euphrates at *Thapsacus* is represented as an unusual circumstance, by the inhabitants of that place; and proves, (if that report be true,) that it must have been at a season, when the river, which has periodical changes, was unusually low; or that the season itself had been a remarkably dry one.

The description of the fruit of the palm, or date trees, in Mesopotamia, shews that the dates had been recently gathered. And,

The severity of the weather in *Armenia*, shews that it must have been in the depth of winter (the one preceding the campaign with Seuthes), that the Greeks were there. We shall accordingly discuss these three points, and afterwards compare the results, with the intervals of time between.

1. It is known that the Euphrates (as well as the Tigris), has a periodical swelling, and that to a considerable height, in spring, and part of summer; but whether, like the Tigris, it also swells in some considerable degree, with the winter rains (in January, according to M. Niebuhr) is unknown to the author. And hence a doubt may arise, whether it may be lowest after the full subsidence of the flood in summer, or after that of the winter; if such there be.* Now the Ganges, and most

* The notices respecting the season, and the height of the swelling of the Euphrates, are not given, on the same authority, as those respecting the Tigris. For certain European residents, on the banks of the latter (at Baghdad) have observed and reported them: but as there have been no such residents near the Euphrates, the information is

other tropical rivers, have one regular period of swelling in summer; and after they begin to fall, although the decrease be, out of all proportion, the most rapid, in the early part of it; yet they do continue to fall, although in small degrees, until the period of swelling returns.*

But there is the most positive information concerning the *low state* of the Euphrates, in August and September, whatsoever may happen between that and April; which is the season of its beginning to swell; and which swelling continues till late in June: from which time, it falls again, very rapidly. For M. Thevenot says, that at Beer, it filled only *half* its bed, in the beginning of July, O. S. And from Dr. Pocock we learn, that in the middle of September, O. S. at the same place, it occupied only *one third part* of the breadth of its bed: for that bed was 630 yards over, from bank to bank; and of this space, only the breadth of 214 yards was covered. It was said to have been near its *lowest pitch*, at that time.

Mr. Drummond was at Beer, the 25th August (O. S.); and he says, (page 205) that "the Euphrates has *two sets* of "banks, one for summer, and one for winter: these last "being *full half a mile* wider than the other." Although his guess concerning the width of the river bed, was a very bad one, as appears from Dr. Pocock's admeasurement, yet it may clearly be understood that the river was very far retired within its bed; and consequently may be supposed to have been near its lowest state. It may here be remarked, by the bye, that derived from casual sources, alone. However, there appears to be little doubt, that the Euphrates begins to swell in April, and is at its height in June.

* The fall of the Ganges, in particular, is very rapid, when it begins to take place; so that about two-thirds of the whole perpendicular fall, takes place during the first 10 or 11 weeks: but it continues to fall for six months longer.

the *guesses* of *ordinary* travellers, respecting the breadth of rivers, lakes, and inlets of the sea, are generally too vague to merit any kind of attention.

Mr. Eldred, who navigated the Euphrates in 1583, (see Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, Vol. II.) says, that it is at its lowest in July, August, and September: that is to say, it begins to be *very low* before the *middle* of July, (or allowing for the difference of style, the latter end of July): and continues so, during the remainder of that month, August, and September. This, of course, applies only to the state of the river, in respect of its navigation, without any reference to the period of its attaining its lowest pitch; which might therefore be in September, as M. Thevenot reports. It is probable, however, that, like other rivers, subject to periodical swellings, it may continue to fall till the season of swelling returned: although the difference would escape a casual observer. Both Eldred and Thevenot's testimonies prove, that the subsidence of the river is very sudden: and the marked difference between its state in July, and in September, shews that it had decreased very considerably during that interval: and probably from the latter period, its decrease may have been very inconsiderable.

It may therefore, be admitted, that in August and September, the Euphrates is in a *very low* state: and might have been no more than *breast-high* at a particular ford, as it was said to have been at *Thapsacus:* and although this circumstance affords no authority for fixing the date of the transaction in question, yet it may be allowed to furnish a strong presumptive proof, that it could not well have taken place, *earlier* than August.

2. The season of the ripening of the *date* fruit in *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia*. Xenophon's description of the dates (Lib.

II. c. 10), and of the œconomy of the inhabitants respecting them, seems to shew that the dates had been recently gathered. "These dates (says he) had in all respects the appearance of "amber. Some of them they *dried* for sweetmeats."

Kæmpfer says, that the dates ripen in *Persia* in August; and another author says, that in Upper Ægypt, they ripen in September. According to the new style, Kæmpfer's period may be extended to the first week in September.

3. The coming on of the heavy snows in Armenia, amongst which, they continued 23 days. To reason from analogy, this might be expected to have taken place, about the middle of December.

We shall now endeavour, from a combination of these circumstances, to establish a chronological point, by which the several events of the history may be regulated; though in a very general way.

It appears from the history (see the table of marches and halts, prefixed) that the Greeks, partly in company with Cyrus, partly by themselves, employed 36 days between *Thapsacus*, and the villages in which they quartered after the battle of *Cunaxa*, and the truce that followed it:* and that from their coming to these villages, to the first fall of snow in Western Armenia, they employed 87 days more: in all, 123 days, or just about 4 calendar months, between the fording of the Euphrates, and the first fall of snow, in the plains of Armenia. It cannot well be supposed, after what has appeared from Thevenot, that the Euphrates, could have fallen

* This is on the supposition that two articles are transposed in the original: according to which, there would have been 42 days instead of 36, between Thapsacus and the truce villages.

so remarkably low, as to have been fordable, contrary to the belief of the people of *Thapsacus*, at an earlier period than the middle of August, (N. S.) or thereabouts: and if this be supposed, the 4 months will bring the time of the first fall of snow, to the middle of December; and that of the arrival of the Greeks at the truce villages, where the date fruit appears to have been recently gathered, to the third week in September; which is a full fortnight beyond the *latest* period allowed by Kæmpfer, for the *ripening* of the dates. In respect of the snow, as none appears to have been found on the elevated plains of Armenia, on their arrival there; or even on the more elevated region of the *Carduchians*; it may be presumed that the snow seen by them, was the first that fell, in any quantity, in that season; as it does not quickly melt there. And the middle of December does not seem an improbable time for this to have happened.*

It is certain however, that the season of the ripening of the dates, ought to be regarded as by far the most regular and certain of the three events: and if the Greeks arrived during or immediately after, the time of the gathering, it would point to a somewhat earlier period, for the fording of the Euphrates, at *Thapsacus*; and of course, for the falling of the snow in Armenia; than has been stated above. But one cannot suppose, at all events, a difference of more than a fortnight; and

* Twelve or thirteen days before the first snow mentioned by Xenophon, and whilst on the summits of the *Carduchian* mountains, it was said to "*rain violently*," whence it may be inferred that the season of snow had not commenced. (Lib. IV. c. 7.)

It is true that Mr. Sullivan saw snow lying on the summits of these mountains in June; but it is well known that on some mountains, the snow is not all melted till autumn; although they may be quite clear, at the beginning of winter. Certain of the passages across *Hindoo-Kho*, (or the *Indian Caucasus*), are not clear enough for travelling till August.

without meaning to appear exact, in a matter that is not susceptible of exactness, but in which the circumstance of the ripening of the dates, ought to preponderate; we shall assume a particular day, for each transaction or event, merely for the convenience of the reader, in comparing one interval of time with another.

It is proper to mention, that the aggregate sum of the time, between the battle of *Cunaxa*, and the arrival of the army at *Cotyora*, given by Xenophon, roundly, at 8 months; is found to be only about 7 months and a week, by the detail. If he really wrote 8 months, then there is, of course, a deficiency of three weeks; and which it is not possible to supply. We shall therefore proceed according to the detail, in the first instance, and on a supposition of their arriving in the villages *immediately after the time of gathering the dates;* and afterwards state the differences between the two reports.

Assuming then, the 10th of September for the day of their arrival at the villages, where they saw the dates, which seem to have been recently gathered; the battle of *Cunaxa*, which was fought three days before, must have happened on the 7th September. The fording of the Euphrates at *Thapsacus*, which was 36 days before their arrival at the villages, should have been on the 5th of August: and the commencement of the transactions in the *Anabasis;* that is, the day on which Cyrus left *Sardis*, should have been the 6th of March; or only one day more than six months, previous to the battle. But Xenophon remarks at the end of the work, that the whole expedition and retreat, took up a year and three months: and as he also observes when at *Cotyora*, (which he reckons the term of the retreat), that they had consumed 8 months, in their

retreat, from the field of battle in Babylonia to *Cotyora;* no less than 7 months must have been employed between the commencement of the expedition, which was at *Ephesus*, (Lib. II. c. 5), and the battle: and of course nearly a whole month must have been employed at *Sardis*, and on the march to it, from *Ephesus*. So that the commencement of the expedition, at Ephesus, may be reckoned to have taken place on the 7th of February, B. C. 401.

The detail giving, as we have before remarked, 87 days, from the time of arriving at the truce villages, to the first snow: places the latter event, on the 6th of December. Again, the same detail giving 69 days from the first snow to Trebisonde, fixes the arrival at that place to the 13th of February, B. C. 400.

The time between Trebisonde and Cotyora, is incompletely given; but, with the month spent at Trebisonde, and 10 days at Cerazunt, may be taken roundly at two months.

It has been remarked above, that Xenophon states the interval of time between the battle of Cunaxa and the arrival at Cotyora, at eight months; and that the detail falls short by about 3 weeks. For, as the arrival at Trebisonde is here fixed to the 13th of February; and that at Cotyora two months later, or to the 13th of April; whilst the battle is supposed to have been fought on the 7th September, it is evident that the interval of time, is short of 8 months, by 3 weeks: as also, that following Xenophon's account, the arrival at *Cotyora*, should be the 7th of May. One cannot hesitate to adopt Xenophon's time, in the aggregate; because it is probable that the length of the interval of time employed, during the retreat, was strongly impressed on his mind: so that it was always

present with him, although he might be unable to recollect the whole detail. And it is possible also, that his detail may have originally agreed with the aggregate, but has since been corrupted. One cannot suppose that he would palpably contradict himself.

Between *Cotyora* and *Chrysopolis* (at the *Bosphorus*), the time employed by the way, may easily be collected; but the length of their stay at *Heraclea*, any more than at *Calpé*, can only be guessed by circumstances. At the port of *Sinope* they staid 5 days. If the whole of their stay at *Heraclea* and *Calpé*, was equal to 18 or 20 days (and less can hardly be supposed), the whole time from their arrival at *Cotyora*, to their arrival at *Chrysopolis*, adding the 45 days sojourn at the former, may be taken at three months: and then their arrival at *Chrysopolis* would be about the 7th of August, according to the aggregate given by Xenophon.

As Xenophon says (Lib. VII. c. 48), that whilst the army was encamped in the open field, under the walls of *Perinthus*, it was "in the heart of winter," one cannot refer this expression to an earlier period than far on, in the month of December. It was immediately after this, that they joined Seuthes; very soon after which, we hear of the very severe cold, when the *wine* as well as the *water* was frozen in the vessels. And this may therefore have been about, or rather after, Christmas. So that the Greeks must have staid either at *Chrysopolis*, or in the neighbourhood of *Byzantium* or *Perinthus*, from the middle of August to the middle of December. With Seuthes they were two complete months; and it is said to have been *in winter:* which it no doubt was: probably from the middle of December, to the middle of February.

It may be supposed, that after their engagement to serve with the Lacedæmonians, they lost no time in passing over into Asia. Dr. Forster supposes them to have been incorporated with the troops, under Thimbron, in March; which appears probable. So that the whole interval of time, between the departure of the expedition from *Sardis*, and the return of the remains of the army, to that neighbourhood *(Parthenium)*, was full two years: in which the numbers were diminished about one half.

The following table is calculated, on the above supposition, that the Greeks forded the Euphrates, at *Thapsacus*, on the 5th of August; of their arrival at the truce villages, on the 10th of September; and of having the first snow in Armenia, on the 6th December.

The detail of the time, in the *Anabasis*, is the only guide to the comparative dates, until the arrival at *Cotyora;* when they are checked, by the interval of 8 months from the battle of *Cunaxa;* it being impossible to find out where the omissions lie; and what proportion of them were before, and what after the arrival at Trebisonde. Probably, the difference may be owing to the omission of days of halting, in the course of the detail.

Although in the arrangement of the following table, the *gathering* of the date fruit has chiefly determined the point of time, yet it is not improbable, that the Greeks may have arrived at the villages, at a period somewhat later; because the low state of the Euphrates, and the falling of the first heavy snows, would have been expected to happen rather later, than the point of time deduced from the gathering of the date fruit. It is evident, however, that of the three circumstances, that

respecting the date fruit, is the one that claims the chief regard, as being the most regular, in point of season.

Halts Days			
	As they left *Ephesus* 7 months before the battle, their departure may be reckoned to be about the - -	7th Feb.	B. C. 401
	Left *Sardis* about - -	6th March	
20	Arrive at *Celænæ* - -	20th ——	
5	—— *Caystrus* - - -	1st May	
20	—— *Tarsus* - -	6th June	
7	—— *Myriandrus* - -	6th July	
5	Ford the Euphrates at *Thapsacus* -	5th August	
—	At the *Pylæ* - - -	1st Sept.	
—	Battle of *Cunaxa* - - -	7th ——	
26	Arrive at the *Truce* Villages -	10th ——	
—	At *Sitace* - - -	11th Oct.	
3	Massacre at the *Zabatus* - -	29th ——	
—	Ascend the *Carduchian* mountains -	20th Nov.	
—	First snow in *Armenia* - -	6th Dec.	
—	Crossed the *Eastern* Euphrates	13th ——	
8	Arrive at the Villages of Refreshment	18th ——	
—	—— the *Harpasus* river - -	19th Jan.	400
30	—— *Trebisonde* - - -	13th Feb.	According to Xenophon
45	—— *Cotyora* - - -	13th April	7th May
—	—— *Heraclea* - -	- -	1st July
—	—— *Chrysopolis* and the *Bosphorus*	-	7th August
—	Join Seuthes - - -	- -	5th Dec.
—	* — Thimbron - - -	- -	5th March 399

* Dr. Forster supposes the following dates, p. 334:

Battle of Cunaxa -	At the latter end of September	B. C. 401.
In the snows of Armenia -	Beginning of January	400.
Arrival at Trebisonde -	Towards the end of February.	
Arrival at Cotyora -	Beginning of June.	
Left Cotyora - -	Latter end of July.	
Joined Seuthes - -	End of November.	
—— Thimbron -	In March - -	399.

CONCLUSION.

The Author has now, to the best of his ability, completed his plan; which had for its object, a critical examination of the Geography of the EXPEDITION of CYRUS the Younger, and the RETREAT of the TEN THOUSAND GREEKS; through those parts of their route, which stood the most in need of that kind of illustration. It must be acknowledged, that the first four books of the ANABASIS, contain the most interesting part of the whole: for although much information, and that of various kinds also, is contained in the three last books, yet the transactions are not of a character to interest so deeply; or to rise so high in our estimation. And perhaps the work might have been thought no less perfect, as a piece of history, (and doubtless much more dignified), had it terminated with the arrival of the Greeks at Trebisonde; and the remainder made a portion of general history. For one cannot but be disgusted, at finding those, who had so long figured as heroes, in the former part of the history, degenerated into pirates and buccaneers, towards the conclusion.

Of all the records of human actions, that have travelled down to us, this appears to be, on the whole, the best fitted to inspire confidence in our own resources. It ought therefore to be more particularly studied by military men; as containing many important lessons, as well of tactics, as of policy. The statesman will have impressed on his mind, the importance of a proper choice of commanders: such as may inspire confidence, rather than terror; and induce a pride of obedience, that rises superior to the frowardness of self-will; or

the impatience of bodily sufferings. By such men, discipline may be enforced, even in those ranks, where a spirit of liberty prevails, to the utmost extent; as amongst the Spartans and Athenians, of whom we have been speaking. A commander may also learn, from the unaffected details of Xenophon, to place his own transactions before the public eye, in a clear point of view: and in the recital of his own acts, to do himself ample justice, without offending the delicacy of his readers. But even the reader, who is neither a military man, nor a statesman, may find in the *Anabasis*, not only much rational amusement, but many lessons useful in common life. Moreover, we learn from this, and a few other instances, out of the ordinary course of events, what may be accomplished by exertion, aided by consummate wisdom and undaunted courage. The long continued struggle of the Greeks, with difficulties of every kind, stamps a degree of fame on their characters, superior to all that we meet with in history. Much fame is built on the trial of a single day: but in this case, the endurance of bodily sufferings, and privations, super-added to personal dangers, was such, as to exercise their patience and fortitude, not only for days, but for months; and these as constantly stood the trial.*

* We regard the courage and perseverance of our countryman, CAPTAIN, now ADMIRAL, WILLIAM BLIGH, and his boat's crew, as one of those remarkable instances.

Driven by mutineers from the command of his Majesty's ship BOUNTY, when in the Pacific Ocean, in 1789; he, with 17 others of the crew, was committed to an open boat, 23 feet in length; with a quantity of provisions equal only to about 9 days ordinary allowance, for that number of people (18 in all); and with water for little more than 3 days: but what proved of the utmost importance in the sequel, 8 bottles of wine and rum. With this *modicum* of provisions, he daringly undertook to conduct them to the Molucca Islands, *three-thousand six-hundred miles* distant (which is 500 miles

more than the breadth of the Atlantic Ocean, between Portugal and Virginia), in the hopes of reaching their native country from thence. Of this distance, 2600 miles lay through the vast Pacific Ocean; the waves of which, during the frequent stormy weather, often curled over their heads, and threatened them with instant destruction. At the end of 48 days, they arrived at the island of Timor, having still remaining in store, 11 days provisions; which the PROVIDENT ATTENTION, the RESOLUTE DISCIPLINE, and the PATIENT EXAMPLE of the Commander, had induced them to reserve; that in the event of their missing Timor, they might be enabled to reach Batavia.

*** The distresses of the Greeks, from the time of the massacre of their Generals, to their arrival at Trebisonde, continued about 106 days.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A PROPOSAL FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE ROUTE OF THE TEN THOUSAND, BY ENQUIRIES ON THE SPOT, CONCERNING THE POSITIONS OF CERTAIN PROMINENT POINTS: AND IN COMMON WITH IT, THAT OF ALEXANDER, THROUGH THE SAME COUNTRIES: THE WHOLE OF WHICH ENQUIRIES WILL BE EQUALLY APPLICABLE TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY.

PART I.

The Improvement *of the* Geography *of the foregoing Route, might easily be accomplished, by the aid of* Europeans, *who travel on the score of curiosity in* Asia—*The benefit would extend to* General Geography, *at large:* Modern *as well as* Ancient —*The task to be divided amongst several travellers*—*Great* simplicity *of the* process *required*—Observations *are often neglected through diffidence of* ability *to make them*—*Enumeration of the principal positions which require correction; with hints for the mode of proceeding*—Asia Minor—Sinus Issicus—Syrian *and* Cilician *Passes*—Myriandrus—*Course of the* Euphrates—*Field of* Cunaxa—Median Wall—Sitace—Opis—*River* Tigris —Zabatus—Over-hanging Cliffs—Carduchian Mountains—

Centrites *and* Teleboas *Rivers*—Eastern Euphrates—Khanoos—Villages *of* Refreshment—Harpasus, Gymnias, *and Mount* Theches, *or* Teke—Tumulus *of* Stones—Trebisonde.

PART II.

Concerning the modes of taking the direction *of the* route; *and of* computing *the* distances—Substitute *for the* Magnetic Compass, *when the latter cannot be conveniently used—Mode of using the* Substitute—Examples—*Modes of* computing distances—Itinerary Measures, *in* Turkey, Persia, &c.—Remarks.

1. IN this enterprising age of discovery, in which so many generous spirits have not only relinquished their comforts and their ease; but have actually perished, in the attempt to add to the general stock of knowledge; one may hope, or even expect, that some will be induced to try the experiment of improving the geography of the routes of Cyrus and of Xenophon; in such parts as are at present the least known, or have been the least subjected to geographical arrangement. There can be little doubt, but that it may be greatly improved, by a diligent and careful attention to the objects around them. Moreover, the improvement of modern geography will be going on, at the same time with that of the ancient.*

In the expectation that such may be the event, the author has judged, that a portion of his time may not be ill employed

* And since Cyrus and Alexander passed at times over the same ground; and at other times, very nearly over the same; some particulars relating to the route of the latter, may doubtless be collected: as in *Cilicia*, and at the Tigris, &c.

in offering his sentiments on the most promising mode of pursuing the enquiry.

It may first be proper to state, that much valuable matter for the improvement of general geography may be collected, without any great exertion; and by persons who possess the most moderate portion of mathematical knowledge; and moreover with a very few portable instruments: that is to say, a pocket sextant, with an artificial horizon, and a small pocket compass. A watch, every traveller is provided with; but in this case, it ought to be a good one; as much will depend on knowing the exact time of day. Observations for the longitude are quite out of the question here.

It is probable, that it arises from a mistaken idea, that much previous knowledge is required, in order to be able to collect materials for geography; that so few persons have attempted it. But a qualification is very easily obtained.

It happens that the points which require correction, are so numerous, and withal so widely dispersed, that it could not be expected, that any one person, whatsoever talents, leisure, and facilities, he might possess, would be equal to the task of examining the whole. Therefore, different travellers might confine their enquiries and examinations to such different parts of the route, as fell within the limits which they had prescribed for their respective tours. Thus, to supply what was wanting in *Asia Minor*, might be a sufficient task for one traveller; a second might trace the general course of the Euphrates; and a third might endeavour to fix certain critical points, or stations, along the Tigris; as *Opis*, and the *over-hanging cliffs*: or even to trace the general course of the river itself. Others might examine the tract between the supposed position of

Gymnias and Trebisonde; as also the line of the route from the quarter of Bedlis (or from the northern foot of the Kourdistan mountains, that is the *Carduchian*); to that of Khanoos; and to the Euphrates, in the line towards Yezidkoi, and Koban-kupri.

The different objects which are required, for the illustration of the geography of the *Anabasis*, will be given here, in regular succession, as they occur, in the course of the history; as this mode appears to afford the easiest means of reference; and to be the most favourable to the memory. But the enquirer, it is hoped, will not lose sight of the subject of the general geography at large; which is still so deplorably deficient, in that part of the world. For although he may fail in obtaining satisfaction, respecting the subject of the *Anabasis*; yet the result of every enquiry directed towards it, will infallibly produce materials for the improvement of general geography, both ancient and modern: so that it is barely possible that his time and labour should be lost.

The *outset*, through *Asia Minor*, requires more particularly, an attention to the positions of *Celænæ*, *Peltæ*, *Caystrus*, and *Tyana*: for although these may be received at present, as assumed positions, of sufficient authority to mark the progress of the armies, in a general way; yet they want the exactness required for systematic geography, even of the most general kind; *Peltæ* and *Tyana* in particular. As for the rest, as *Sardis*, *Colossæ*, the *Kramians*, *Iconium*, *Tarsus*, and *Issus*; these perhaps may be regarded as fixed, in the view of general geography; at least, according to the mode in which any large portion of the Turkish empire, is likely ever to be done.

The whole route from *Tyana* to *Tarsus*, should be noted, in

respect of the *direction of its course*, and the distribution of the intervening objects; particularly the pass over Mount *Taurus* (commonly called, by the ancients, the pass of *Cilicia*), near *Tyana;* and the towns and villages now in existence. Enquiries should also be made, respecting the sites of those recorded in the ancient itineraries; amongst which, the one answering to *Podandus (Bodando)* is said to be still existing. The quality of the country should also be described; and in effect, every particular should be noted, that would enable the traveller to compare the ground with the description in Xenophon; and with the ancient itineraries: that named from *Jerusalem* more particularly.

The best guide to *Tyana*, is perhaps the village of *Anabil* or *Enabil*, situated in the road from Kisariah and Develi-Karahissar, to *Tarsus;* and at 6 hours travelling (of caravans) to the south-east of Karahissar. Anabil is presumed to be the *Andabalis* and *Andavilis* of the itineraries: and which was 16 Roman miles short of Tyana, in the way from *Archelais Colonia*, (which is supposed to have stood on, or near, the site of the present Akserai), to *Tarsus*. The traveller would do well to study the position and direction of this Roman road, as well as the modern ones in the same quarter; in order to be a perfect master of the nature of the communications, on which the movements of Alexander, as well as of Cyrus and Xenophon, are to owe their developement.*

The gulf of *Issus*, or Scanderoone, furnishes so many

* Enquiries might also be made, whether the names of *Thymbrium, Tyriæum, Philomelium*, and the *Camp of Cyrus*, at *Tyana*, are still known, in those countries; as also concerning the Roman Roads; and particularly that between Dorylæum and Philomelium.

important heads of enquiry, as would amply repay a deliberate survey of its whole extent: but at all events, the whole of its eastern coast, together with the two bays in which it terminates, on the north and south; and the outlines of the *bases* of the adjacent mountains; should be carefully examined: for on the knowledge of certain particulars, in this part, a right understanding and discrimination of the passes, so famous in the history of Alexander, and of the younger Cyrus, will be obtained. And this knowledge appears not only to be wanting at present, but to have been wanting amongst the Greeks and Romans, even at no long interval after the date of the transactions themselves.

The result of such an enquiry would probably be a more satisfactory proof of the site of *Issus;* of the river *Pinarus*, which was near it; of the ground which formed the *two maritime* passes (the one on the sea-shore, mentioned by Xenophon; and that on the ascent, by Arrian); the ancient coast of the bay of *Myriandrus*, now filled up with alluvions; together with the site of the city itself: and finally, the upper pass of *Amanus*, by which Darius advanced to *Issus*, whilst Alexander was seeking him on the side of *Syria*. (See above, page 38, *et seq.*)

Perhaps the best mode of pursuing this enquiry with effect, will be, first to seek the ruins of a gate, and a causeway leading from it, supposed to have been a street of the city of *Castabala*,* (the *Catabolo* of the itinerary) situated at the northern

* *Castabala* appears in Q. Curtius, on the route of Alexander. The *causeway*, as it is reckoned, is probably the pavement of a street of the city. The same circumstances occur in several other sites of cities, in the east; where they pass for causeways.

extremity of the gulf of *Issus*, or Scanderoone. The gate is now named Demir-kapi.

From thence, southward, *Baiæ* (now Bayas) was 17 Roman miles:* but *Issus*, and the river *Pinarus*, must have been short of Bayas; the former (supposed to have stood on the site of the present village of *Oseler*, called also *Karabolat*) about 6 or 7, and the latter 3 or 4 miles. It would be proper however, to note every rivulet of any size, together with its name, position, and direction.

The stream called *Deli-sou*, taken by the author, for the *Pinarus*, lies about midway between Oseler and Bayas; but nearest to the former. As the field of *Issus* is supposed to have been divided by this river, as being the only ground that suits the description given by Arrian, the observer cannot be too exact, in every particular relating to it. The course of the river should be traced, at least to the place where it issues from the mountains (*Amanus*); and it should be observed, whether in its passage through the opening, it does not form *a deep bend* towards the *north*, along a kind of bay or recess in the mountains; by which, those who stood at the remote part of the bay, on the *northern* bank, could see the backs of those who were drawn up, on the opposite bank: for this is Arrian's description of this part of the field. The width of the plain should also be carefully noted, between the parallels of Oseler and Bayas. And although it is not very probable, that any remains of the altars erected by Alexander, on the northern bank of the *Pinarus*, should be visible at this day; yet as Cicero saw, and remarked them, it is possible that there may

* The distance appears to be under-rated. It is 17 in one itinerary; 16 in the other: and named *Baiæ* in one; *Bais* in the other.

yet be the remains of the foundations: and the space to be examined is not extensive.

It is suspected that the *upper* pass of *Amanus*, by which Darius came to *Issus*, whilst Alexander was at *Myriandrus*, lay through the same gap, by which the *Pinarus* river, issues from Mount *Amanus*. Some information respecting such a passage, may possibly be obtained, either at Bayas, or at Oseler.

The pass on the sea-shore, called by Xenophon, the gates of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, was situated at the distance of an ordinary march southward from *Issus*: probably about 14 British miles: and at about 7 (in the same direction) from Bayas. Here, the observer may perhaps take the small river *Mahersy* (supposed to be the *Kersus* of Xenophon) for his guide; as this latter ran through the fortifications of the pass, situated on the low ground adjacent to the beach. Here it must be recollected, that a wide space of morassy ground has been formed, adjacent to the ground of the pass; and as Xenophon says that the ground within the pass, was formed of *inaccessible cliffs*, this particular should also be attended to, as furnishing a mark for ascertaining the position of the ancient pass.

A little way to the south of the Mahersy river, the hills encroach on the sea: and here it is conceived was the pass described by Arrian, to have been possessed by Alexander's troops, on the morning preceding the battle of *Issus*. Certain ruins, named Jonas's Pillars, appear to occupy the spot where the pass was situated: possibly, a part of its defences, if ever it was fortified. This ground should also be examined, in order to ascertain what the nature of the impediment was, which constituted the pass, spoken of by Arrian. He only

says that the troops were confined to a very narrow front; and descended from a hill.

The site of *Myriandrus*, and the trace of the shore of its ancient bay and port, next claim attention. Since it was situated at the distance of a day's march southward from the *maritime* strait, according to Xenophon and Arrian, whilst the southern termination of the gulf of Issus, is no more than about 6 or 7 miles from that strait, it is evident that the S. E. angle of the gulf, in which the bay and port of *Myriandrus* were situated, must have been filled up by matter lodged there; partly by the sea currents, partly by the land floods, from the mountains of *Amanus* and *Pieria*. The boggy nature of the soil there, plainly indicates such a change; which is moreover corroborated, not only by tradition, but by the visible extension of the land, and the consequent removal of the habitations, at Scanderoone, at the present day. (See above, page 55.)

There are said to be ruins, near a spring named Jacob's well, several miles inland, and to the southward of Scanderoone (or *Alexandria*); and near the great road leading from the latter, to the inland pass of Bylan. Here one would look for the site of *Myriandrus*: but it may be difficult to trace the ancient sea-coast; because the level of the newly-formed land, must necessarily have been raised, by constant accessions of matter from the hills: so as to obliterate the margin of the ancient sea-coast.

It would, however, be curious to examine the state of Godfrey of Boulogne's castle, situated on the new land; in order to compare its height from the *present level*, with that reported by Mr. Drummond about 60 years ago.

It has been mentioned, page 65, *et seq*. that Xenophon has

taken no notice of the remarkable pass of Bylan (*Pictanus*); any more than of the rivers that ran through the plain, since denominated from *Antioch*.

The *Chalus* of Xenophon cannot be mistaken in the modern Koïk, or river of Aleppo: or the *Daradax*, in the Fountain of Fay. (See above page 65.) No information, applicable to the present inquiry, is likely to be obtained, between Fay and the place of conflux of the Khabour (*Araxes*). However, a general tracing of the Euphrates, *here*, would prove a most useful addition to geography: as the present maps are very deficient in the detail of its course: and below the conflux, the great detours of the stream, must have affected the direction and length of the line of march; since the army of Cyrus would naturally have made it their constant watering place. Consequently, a knowledge of this particular, would enable a geographer to form a better judgment of the distances marched *by the road*, within any given points in the geography: for at present nothing more is known than the distances in *direct lines*, skirting the general course of the river, from Baghdad, through Hit, Rahaba, Racca, &c.

In order to render such a *tracing* still more useful, observations of latitude should be taken, at proper points; as Baulus, Racca, Erzi, Annah, and Hit; or very near those places; as also, at some station on the Euphrates, nearest to Baghdad: with which latter place, it should be connected, by general bearings, and computed distances.

The *Pylæ* form the next point of consideration: what the nature of the object (or objects) so named by Xenophon, may be; whether it be named from defiles that shut up the road, along the river side; or from the river itself, being there pent

up by mountains or hills on both sides, from whence it is known to emerge as from a strait, into the plains of Babylon. That there are mountains, or high hills, which answer generally to this description, as well in quality, as in position, is certain: but more particulars are wanting; and which might probably be ascertained, by following the course of the Euphrates, from Hit downwards to Feluja; or to that point in its course, which approaches nearest to Baghdad.

The place of the field of battle of *Cunaxa*, appears to have been nearly about Feluja; and not far below the site of Anbar. A *hill* is described at *Cunaxa*, in the *Anabasis;* and as hills or eminences seldom occur in this part, which is composed chiefly of alluvial soil; such a one, if found here, would probable aid the research: for by calculating the marches, it would be about 17 G. miles below the outlet of the uppermost canal; 50 from the *Pylæ;* and 30 short of Baghdad. And in this position, a hill, or eminence, was actually remarked by P. Texeira, in 1605: but without any reference to the subject of the *Anabasis*.

It may be added, that the entire course of the Euphrates, in respect of its *detail*, in this quarter, being unknown, every portion of it, that could be obtained, would be an acquisition to geography. The places of the outlets of the different canals, together with their courses towards the Tigris, are equally important. And finally, it should be understood, that it is not yet known, with any degree of accuracy, how any one given point on the Euphrates is situated, with respect to another such point on the Tigris.

It would be worth the enquirer's while also to continue the

tracing of the Euphrates, as low down as Hillah ;* and afterwards to trace the bed of the *Nahr-Malka* river (or canal), from *Modain*, upwards, to the place of its former outlet from the Euphrates.† Any other remarks on the ancient beds of canals, in the narrow tract of the Isthmus, might also be useful.‡

Any person whose curiosity would lead him to the examination of the above subjects, could not find himself on the soil of *ancient Babylon* (as he would be at Hillah), without a strong desire to employ a convenient portion of his leisure, in endeavouring to trace the foundations of its walls, or the cavities which contained them ; and to examine every species of its remains.§

* Between Hillah and Basrah, there is a tracing already made, by Mr. Ives's party, in 1758.

† It is preferable to begin at Modain, because it is well known, that the canal opened into the Tigris at *Seleucia,* (which afterwards formed a part of Modain, or *the two cities* ; *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon.)* It might not be so easy to find its outlet from the Euphrates in the first instance; for as there was more than one canal, there might be a loss of time. Sir Harford Jones informed the author, that the bed of the Nahr-Malka was clearly to be seen, in the way from Hillah to Baghdad.

‡ Although there may possibly be no traces of the *Median Wall* to be seen above ground, yet its masonry being cemented with bitumen, part of the foundations *may* remain. In Julian's expedition, in the 4th century, the remains of it were seen, near the Euphrates. As it appears to have been built across the narrowest part of the Isthmus, one would look for the termination of it, nearly opposite to Baghdad. Our Pict's wall was in existence, previous to the time of Julian, yet its remains were visible, down to the present age.

§ Since the above was written, Mr. Rich's very interesting Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon, has appeared. As the Euphrates appears to have changed its course through those ruins; leaving them *all* on the *eastern* side, the ground between them should undergo a very strict examination, with a view to detect the course of the ancient bed of the river.

Opis, appears to be the *opprobrium* of ancient geography, in this quarter. It ought, by the *Anabasis*, to be looked for at about 34 G. miles in direct distance, above Baghdad, on the eastern bank of the Tigris, near the site of Akbara ; 80 below Senn, taken for the *Cænæ* of Xenophon. But this depends on the position of *Sitace*, from whence it was distant 20 parasangas up the Tigris. (See above page 123, *et seq.*)

If however, there should be errors in the report of the distances in the *Anabasis ;* and that *Opis* should have been much nearer to *Sitace* than the 20 parasangas ; or *Sitace* itself lower down ; and on the other hand, *Cænæ* much farther down than is given ; Dokhala, situated at the conflux of the Lesser Deällah river, with the Tigris, *may* have been the site ; and the river in question the *Physcus* of Xenophon. As it was a large and opulent city, there ought to be *remains ;* unless the numerous towns built by the Mahomedans, should have required all the materials. But sepulchres may still remain. It may also be worth the enquiry and examination, whether the Tigris may not have changed its course, and left the site of *Opis* inland ?

The Tigris offers, in addition to the above particulars, the points of conflux of the two rivers of the name of *Zab* (the uppermost of which, is the *Zabatus* of Xenophon) ;* also the mountainous ridge of Zaco, and the over-hanging cliffs, so famous in this history.

The points of conflux rest at present on the authority of the Arabian geographers, and European travellers ; but a tracing of the whole course of the Tigris, above Baghdad, together

* These two rivers, called in that country the *Greater* and *Lesser* ZAB ; were respectively named by the Greeks, the *Lycus* and *Caprus*.

with observations for the latitude, would prove a most valuable addition to geography, and at the same time settle these positions, satisfactorily. It would not perhaps be difficult in the execution, if traced *downwards* by boat, from Mosul to Baghdad; and from Mosul *upwards* by land.*

The position of the over-hanging cliffs, is the most important of any, as being the term of the progress of the Greeks, along the river. The latitude of that place, would be highly useful: and that of Mosul being already known, the intermediate positions of the ridge of Zaco, and the town of Jezirah, would easily be fixed, by their respective proportions of the distance, from the extremities of the line thus obtained, by the bearing and difference of latitude. The cliffs are supposed to be about 11 G. miles above Jezirah.

On the day on which the Greeks arrived at these insurmountable cliffs, they had been compelled to dislodge the enemy from a hill, over which their road lay; or which commanded the road. Accordingly, this hill, conjointly with the cliffs in question, will infallibly mark the place of ascent of the *Carduchian* mountains.

It is possible that the passage across these mountains, in the line followed by the Greeks, is much too dangerous to be attempted by our travellers; even if it could be traced out. But there is (or was) a regular caravan route, which *crosses* the route of the Greeks, from west to east; and is a portion of that, leading from Diyarbekir to Wan, by way of Bedlis; a place well known from the strength and importance of its pass.

* Since the course of the Tigris, lies so near the meridian, the distances may easily be obtained by observations of latitude, and general bearings.

A valley which is noted by Cartwright, seems to answer to that one, into which the Greeks descended, one day's march short of the eminence, situated over the river *Centrites*. (See the Anabasis, Lib. IV. c. 9 and 10.) This valley and eminence may possibly lead an enquirer to the pass over that river, made use of by the Greeks; as they seem then to have got into a road, that led northward, through Armenia. But if this fails, it would be most convenient to proceed to Bedlis, itself; from whence there is a great public road to Erzerum.* It may be supposed, that the road taken by the Greeks, would, at no great distance from the *Centrites*, (which is taken to be the river of Bedlis: See above, page 201;) fall into this great road; whose direction should have been a little to the west of north. Therefore, of course, the traveller from Bedlis, northward, would soon fall into the track of the Greeks: first coming to the river called by them, *Teleboas* (the *Arsanius* of Lucullus; and recognised in the Aksou, or White River, of the present geography).† According to the distance at which they might *strike* the course of this river from Bedlis, (or from the foot of the *Carduchian* mountains, generally,) they would be prepared, where to look for the *first villages of refreshment*; which lay to the south of the Euphrates. For as Xenophon, who may be supposed to have proceeded on a northerly course, from the passage of the *Centrites*, came to the *Teleboas* in 6 marches, or perhaps 56 G. miles *direct*; whilst Lucullus, who went N. E. towards *Artaxata*, came to the same river in 4 marches; the course of it must be much northerly. An important route in M. Niebuhr's 2d volume, joined to the authority of a map, in M. Delisle's Atlas, authorises us to believe,

* See above page 208, note †.

† See note, page 207.

that *Yezid-koi*, (or the village of the *Jesidians)* situated on the Aksou river, answers to the above village (or cluster of villages) seen by Xenophon, at three marches from the crossing place of the *Teleboas* river; 9 from the *Centrites*. (See above, page 215.)

If these villages are found, in the expected situation, it might be hoped, that a continuation of the same *northerly* course, would point out the place of Teribazus' camp, at the small pass; as well as the ford of the Euphrates, beyond it: and finally, the memorable cluster of villages, in which the Greeks were so well sheltered and recruited; as the whole appears to lie withinthe compass of 40 or 50 miles.

The villages of the *Jesidians* are placed, according to the route in M. Niebuhr, at 19 hours from Khanoos towards Wan; that is, of course, to the south-east. Therefore should the villages of refreshment to the *north* of the Euphrates, be found, it will not be difficult to ascertain their position, in respect of Khanoos. There is indeed a *bare possibility* that these villages may be Khanoos itself;* but in that case Khanoos must be situated more to the northward, than the line of route of the caravan from Erzerum to Wan, which passes through Khanoos, would warrant. And moreover, the history describes a more northerly direction to the route of the Greeks, in this quarter, than can be supposed of any line that could pass through Khanoos, from the quarter of Wan and Yezid-koi, towards Erzerum.

* Khanoos is the capital town of the district of the same name: and it appears that a *Satrape* resided in the neighbourhood of Xenophon's village. (Lib. IV. c. 24.)

In this quarter of Armenia, the villages, or hamlets, lay together in clusters, which clusters were very thinly scattered. The villages appear to have been walled; but the defence of them neglected.

Taverniere stopt at a village, or cluster of villages, named *Halicarcara*, on the northern bank of the Arash; at about 15 miles to the eastward of Comasour; where the inhabitants had subterraneous habitations, like those described by Xenophon. The weather is described by Taverniere, as being very severe, in March; the snow then lying so deep, as to prevent the caravan from moving. It is calculated that this place may be no more than 20 miles to the north-east of Xenophon's station; where the snow lay 6 feet deep, in December. Halicarcara itself, cannot be the place of refreshment of the Ten Thousand; as the two sites are on different sides of the Arash; (the *Phasis* of Xenophon).

In the case of finding the site of the villages of refreshment, the ford, &c. they may readily be connected with the modern geography, by means of the bridge of Koban-kupri, over the river Arash; a well-known position.

From about this point, the Greeks were at fault, in respect of their road towards Trebisonde, (owing to the loss of their guide); when, after a very long interval, they found themselves on the banks of the *Harpasus*; a river flowing from Georgia, into the Arash (or *Araxes*). That river is sufficiently known for the present purpose, under the name of Harpa-sou: but *Gymnias*, the next point recorded in the history, can only be guessed. It is supposed, from reasons given above, (in page 235, *et seq.*) to be the same with Comasour. If this idea should obtain credit enough, with any traveller, to adopt it, by way of experiment, he would of course trace the road thence to Trebisonde. After a journey, equal to 5 marches, (probably long ones, as the Greeks may be supposed to have, at that time, recovered their spirits, and to be full of hopes),

he might expect to arrive, according to the history, at the summit of a high mountain, from whence the sea was visible; and which prospect occasioned such tumultuous joy in the hearts of the long-suffering Greeks. This mountain, as we have seen, was named *Theches*, and appears to have been a part of the lofty ridge, named at present *Teke*, and *Tekman*; and lying to the northward of Erzerum.

The Greeks, after passing this mountain, descended into a valley, well-wooded and watered; and after some days march, re-ascended the mountains, which formed the [eastern] boundary of the *Colchians* of Trebisonde. These are all prominent objects: and if they follow each other, in this order, and at the required distances from each other, one would be led to conclude that the Greeks came by the *south-east*, to the district of Trebisonde: and not by the *east*, as some have supposed. (See above, page 245, *et seq.*)

One circumstance appears to be uncontrovertible. The valley into which they descended from the *prospect* mountain, appears clearly to be that, now denominated from the town of Baibort: for there is no other such valley to fix on: and it seems equally clear, that the place where they ascended the *Colchian* mountains, is at the opposite side of that ridge, which M. Tournefort ascended, on the third day from Trebisonde, in his circuitous journey to Erzerum.* But M. Tournefort kept to the mountains for a considerable time, and did not descend into the valley of Baibort, till he had advanced 70 miles to the eastward of Trebisonde. Therefore it would seem, that his route could only coincide with that of the Greeks, within the space comprised between Trebisonde, and

* Because, it appears from Hajy-Kalifa, that there was a pass in that quarter.

the place where *he* ascended, from the west, those mountains, which *they* crossed, and descended, in coming from the east: that is, the mountains named *Colchian*, by Xenophon; but *Mesjidi* by Hajy Kalifa.

But as the position of *Gymnias*, and the line of course on which the Greeks proceeded from thence to the valley of the *Macronians*, and the *Colchian* hills, are objects of curiosity, equal to any of the others, the inquisitive traveller and lover of antiquities, will not perhaps give up his research, until he is fully satisfied, what the circumstances of the locality, will, in any case, allow: and which of the systems appears the most plausible.

If he be supposed to set out from Trebisonde, in the first instance, in order to examine the roads leading from thence to the *south-east* and *east* (and it would seem unavailing to look to any other quarter, considering where the river *Harpasus* is situated), he would, of course, first enquire from those persons who had been in the habit of travelling on those roads, concerning the nature of the countries through which they led; and how far the ground, and the intermediate distances, accorded with the description in Xenophon: that is, in respect of the crosssing place of the *Colchian* mountains, the valley of the *Macronians*, and the summits from whence the sea can be seen. Moreover, whether there be any *Tumulus* of stones, known to exist any where, on the summit of a mountain, from whence there is a view of the sea, on a road leading to Trebisonde, from the east, or south-east? Whether there be any town, in those quarters, in a situation that may suit that of *Gymnias:* and with a name, whose root is at all similar to it? And lastly, whether there be any honey of the quality

described, in the *Colchian* villages, now known; and where it is to be found?

It would also be a proper point of enquiry, whether at this time, persons who go from Trebisonde to Irwân (vulg. Erivan), and to the *Harpa-sou* (or the contrary), go by way of Comasour, or cross the valley of the Shorak (or *Apsarus* river)?

His attention will doubtless be led towards this quarter: because it may *possibly* happen, that a series of objects exactly similar to the other, may be found in the *direct line* between the *Harpa-sou* and *Trebisonde*; that is, entirely across the whole valley of the Shorak. But if so, one can conceive no other, than that the Greeks were carried from the bottom of the valley, through which their road lay, to the top of mount *Teke*, merely to be shown the sea; and then marched down again: whereas, one naturally collects, from the thread of the history, that the mountain of *Theches* lay in their proper road.

One cannot but suppose that the *Tumulus* erected by the Greeks, must be known to the people of the country around it, although ignorant of its origin. It must have been situated in a place, where some great road crossed a high mountain, from whence the sea was visible, though perhaps at a very great distance. And the place must have abounded with loose stones, or enough could not have been so speedily collected to form a *Tumulus* of any bulk: and this is described as being "*a mount of considerable size.*" (Lib. IV. c. 41.) Where loose stones abound, the place may be expected to be bare of wood; so that the mount itself, would of course be more obvious to the view, than in a woody situation. It is not likely that its materials would be removed: for, situated on a bleak

mountain, (as the ridge of Teke is described to be by Hajy-Kalifa); it could not well interfere with cultivation; nor can the materials be well applicable to use, in such a situation. We are very sanguine in the expectation that it may be found. If it should, it would doubtless lead to a knowledge of the situation of *Gymnias*: and at once develope the general line of the route from the river *Harpasus*.

A traveller, properly furnished with information at Trebisonde, would know what routes were the most promising, in respect of the objects of his researches: and should he succeed in this part, although the clue might be lost, at the Harpasou, yet he might perhaps, recover it again, at the villages of refreshment, on the north of the Euphrates; taking the bridge of Koban-Kupri for his point of departure, and proceeding thence to the south-eastward, to the mountains of *Ala*, situated about 18 or 19 miles distant. It is conceived that these villages will be found in the skirts of the mountains, about midway between the towns of Khanoos and Deli-Baba.*

The positions in the route of the Greeks, along the Euxine, to *Cotyora*, are, with the exception of the latter place, better known than any of the inland positions. We have heard of no traces of *Cotyora*; but it is probable that they may be found at about 15 G. miles to the S. E. of Cape Jason, or Yasoun; as *Cotyora*, in the Periplus of Arrian, is 180 stades from Cape Jason.

The routes, during the short campaign in *Thrace*, are not sufficiently marked in the history, to encourage enquiry.

* These ideas are rendered more precise, by the observations of James Morier, Esq. made during his journey from Persia to Constantinople, in 1809.

II. *Concerning the Modes of taking the Direction of the Route; and of Estimating the Distance.*

Since a magnetic compass cannot be used at ordinary times, on the road, by reason of its being disturbed by the motion produced in travelling; nor perhaps, in the Turkish dominions, at all times, without giving offence; it may therefore be proper to describe a coarse, though useful, manner of taking a bearing, without the aid of a compass; and which, with practice, will be even more exact; because of the unsteadiness of the other. A watch may be used at once, for the purpose just mentioned, as well as for shewing the time. It is well known that, as the sun's bearing (or Azimuth), gives the hour of the day, so the time of day will give the sun's bearing; the latitude and declination being known. The tables necessary to this purpose, will be found in a very portable book, in common use with mariners, called *The Mariner's Compass Rectified.* First, are the tables of the sun's declination, for each day; and secondly, a table for each degree of latitude; in which the bearing of the sun is given in *whole* points of the compass; with the hour of the day, at which it arrives at each of those points. And although a point contains $11\frac{1}{4}$ degrees of a circle, yet this is near enough for the purpose; and perhaps as near as the bearing of the sun can be taken, by this method. But it will be easy to proportion the interval of time, between two points of bearing, to any fraction of a point: if judged necessary.

The operation of finding the bearing, by the above method, need only to employ a few minutes on the road: the calculation will best be performed afterwards, when at full leisure.

In order to take the angle between the sun and the object required; the watch, of course, is to be employed as an instrument for taking horizontal angles. However, the compass being divided into 32 points, whilst the watch has 60 divisions; an awkward fraction arises; since two of these divisions are equal to 12 degrees, and a point contains no more than $11\frac{1}{4}$. But this difficulty has the easiest remedy possible; which is, to mark the points on the dial plate, with red colour, with a fine pen, from 1 to 16, on each side of the hour VI.; it being proposed to point that part of the watch to the object; and reckoning thence, to the *right* or *left*, according to the position of the sun, at the time. The operation therefore is very simple: for the watch being held out before the observer, and pointed towards the object, whose bearing is required, nothing more is to be done, than noting over what point on the dial-plate, the sun bears: and then writing down both that and the time of day. Care must be taken to add to the point of bearing, R or L, for *right* or *left*, of the VI.; and to the time, H and M for hours and minutes.*

Should the sun be very far to the right or left, or behind, the shadow will answer the purpose: in many cases, perhaps better.

Having by this process obtained the angle between the object and the sun; together with the time of day, the following is the method to be pursued, in order to obtain the bearing of the object, sought.

The sun's declination being found, in its proper table, and

* If the observer prefers the mode of writing down the points round the whole circle, from 1 to 32; instead of 1 to 16, on each side of VI.; the R and L will be got rid of: but perhaps the former method will occasion the least trouble in the end.

the latitude known, (that is, to the nearest degree, only) the table of bearings for that parallel, is to be referred to. In that table, under the proper column of declination, and opposite to the hour of the day, the desired bearing of the sun will be found. And finally, the angle which the object made with the sun, being reckoned to the right, or left, of that bearing, according as the case may be, the result will be the required bearing of the object: and that clear of variation.*

EXAMPLE.

January 1, 1815, in lat. 40° north, at 1 h. 30 m. P. M.; the sun was 3 points to the *left* of a certain object. The declination is found in the table to be about 23 degrees south.

In the table for lat. 40°, under 23° declin. S, and opposite to 1 h. 30 m. in that column, is found the bearing of S. S. W.; or 2 points ($22\frac{1}{2}$ degrees) to the *westward* of *south*: which is, therefore, the bearing (or Azimuth) of the sun at half past one. Then, the sun having been three points to the *left* of the object; or, in other words, the object 3 points to the *right* of the sun, the *bearing* of that object must have been *five* points to the [right, or] *westward* of *south*; that is, S. W. by W.

If on the contrary, the sun had been 3 points to the *right* of the object, the bearing of the object would have been *one* point to the *eastward* of *south*, or S. by E.

EXAMPLE II.

On the same day, and in the same place, at 2 hours, P. M.; the sun was found to be *two* points to the *left* of another object.

* It will be obvious to the reader, that although the bearings of *objects*, alone, are mentioned; yet that the same process applies to the line of direction of the road, when no distant objects that lie near the line of it, present themselves.

In the same column of declination (23°) no time is given between 1 h. 30 m. when the sun bears S. S. W.; and 2 h. 20 m. when S. W. by S. But taking the proportion of the difference (of 50 min.) between 1 h. 30 m. and 2 h. 20 m. which is, of course, 30 min. or $\frac{3}{5}$; and also $\frac{3}{5}$ of the angle between S. S. W. and S. W. by S. the result will be $6\frac{3}{4}$ degrees: and this added to $22\frac{1}{2}°$, answering to S. S. W. will give S. $29\frac{1}{4}°$ W. for the bearing of the object. Or in points of the compass, somewhat *more* than S. S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ west.

Although it is certain that the differences of time, between the different points, do not proceed in arithmetical proportion, yet the error arising on the just mentioned process, is not considerable enough to merit notice, in these calculations; seeing that the error can never be equal to half a point of the compass.

The watch is to be kept regulated to *apparent* time; or with the sun.*

As the latitude cannot, from various causes, be taken exactly in the place that could be wished, it would be a good rule, to take it as often as opportunity offered.

Much information respecting the positions of distant towns, or other objects, to the right and left of the road, may be obtained, by enquiring their *bearing* from different points in the road: and then forming them into triangles, of which the *bases* will be the distances travelled, between those points. Enquiry should be made, at as many points as may be convenient; in order that one line of bearing may serve as a check to another.

* This method was originally pointed out, for the use of the African Missionaries; it being peculiarly adapted to passages across deserts: but it is obvious, that it is applicable to all situations.

People in one part of a country, generally know how other (principal) places, or remarkable objects, bear from them, although not in sight: and can point out the line of direction; which lines may be *set* by the compass; or, if there be any objection to the use of it, then by Azimuth, as in the former cases of bearing. And if several lines of bearing, are to be taken from the same station, one may be used as an *observation line*,* and the angles of the others measured from *that*, by the sextant.

The distances, of course, can only be computed; and this is accomplished, in Turkey and Persia, chiefly by *time;* that is, the interval of time required to travel over the ground, by a man, walking at an ordinary pace. It is on this ground, that the ordinary computations are founded; and which are to be so understood, in the statements of distances amongst the natives. There are also itinerary measures in both countries, but they are more vague than the others.

But there being, of course, other modes of travelling, which give different rates; such as on horseback; and in caravans with mules or camels; &c. it will be necessary to treat of them; in order that, let our traveller's mode be what it may, he may have an opportunity of knowing, what the result of enquiries, relating to the subject, has produced. The author has,

* By an *observation line* is meant, a line of bearing, terminating on an object, from which angles are to be measured horizontally, by a sextant, to other objects. So that the bearing of one object being adjusted, that of the others will, of course, be known, by adding the quantity of the angle in each particular case, to the former. It is obvious that if the angles are extended beyond the scope of the sextant, each way; another line, or lines of observation, will become necessary. If there be a choice of objects, the *sharpest* and *best defined*, should be chosen; as a *faint* one would become indistinct by reflexion.

accordingly, subjoined the results of his own calculations, of the rates, on the general modes of travelling in Turkey and Persia, (within which two countries, generally, the route of the Ten Thousand lay); and none but those who have made the experiment, can readily believe, how nearly the *means*, on different lines of distance, agree amongst themselves.

In the application of those rates, it is to be considered, that, as the distances, on *right* lines, between places, can alone be applied to the geography, it became necessary to establish a general proportion, between the *road distance* and the *direct distance;* which has been done, according to the result of much enquiry into the subject. It has appeared, that *one ninth part* may be deducted from the road distance: in other words, that 9 miles by the road, will give 8 on a straight line. But although this is given as a *general rule*, the judgment of the traveller will of course, decide, on the proportion, when the circumstances of the ground, are such as to require it; taking this canon, as a middle course.*

Here follow the results of different enquiries, made with a view to ascertain the scale of the itinerary measures, and rates

* The allowance of one part in nine of the road distance, for winding, appears to be exactly the same proportion with that adopted by M. D'Anville, whose experience, derived from a close application to study, during a life protracted to an unusual length, was perhaps greater than that of any other person on record. This proportion, however, is not meant to be applied *generally*, to roads in the improved state of those of many European countries; but rather to what may be termed *natural* roads. But it certainly happens that the road between London and York, has a winding of *more* than *one* in *nine*. For, if the maps are to be trusted, the distance on a right line, is 175 British miles: and the shortest road being 198, the difference is 23 miles: which gives a proportion of 1 in 8,6. This is doubtless much more than could have been expected; but as the distance consists almost entirely of difference of latitude, one cannot expect any considerable error in the *direct distanse* between the two places.

of travelling, by time, in Western Asia. The latter is the most common mode of reckoning; and for the most part, by *hours;* but also by days journies. The number of examples from whence these results are drawn; together with the labour of research and calculation, is beyond what would readily be supposed. The itinerary measures are of 4 denominations: 1. The *Persian Farsang;* 2. The Turkish *Agatch;* 3. The *Turkish*, or *Greek Mile;* and 4. The Russian *Werst.*

1. The *Persian Farsang.* This, in *ordinary use,* appears to be about $3\frac{1}{2}$ British miles, *by the road:* or reduced to direct distance, in order to be applied to the construction of geography, 2,65 Geographic miles.

2. The *Turkish Agatch.* This appears to be exactly the same with the former, and probably may have been adopted from it: and this appears the more probable, as it is only in use in the quarter towards Persia; where the boundaries of the two countries have fluctuated.

3. The *Turkish*, or *Greek Mile.* This, taken on a mean of 900, along the southern coast of the Black Sea, is found to be of the standard of about 87 to a degree: and reduced to *direct* distance, 0613 Geographic mile.

4. *Russian Werst.* This appears to have been originally the same with the Greek mile: and from whence the Turkish mile also has been derived. In effect, the three agree together, within $\frac{1}{18}$ or $\frac{1}{19}$ part.

The distances measured by time, are next to be considered. These admit also of 4 varieties, in common use: one of which, however, branches out into two. They are: 1st, Ordinary journies of single travellers, or of small parties, on foot.

2d, The same, on horseback. 3d, Caravan Travelling; either with camels, or horses and mules. And 4th, The *mean* march of an army.

1. The day's journey of a traveller on *foot*, (not as a *courier*, or in a *caravan*), may be taken at 22 to 24 British miles, by the *road*; and which, reduced to *direct* distance, may give somewhat under 18 G. miles, for one day, or for a very few days: but if reckoned on a line of many days, collectively, about $17\frac{1}{2}$. For each hour, the *direct* distance may be reckoned at $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{2}{3}$ G. miles; on a supposition that the rate by the road, is $3\frac{1}{4}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ British miles.

2. Journies of the like class of travellers, on *horseback*, in Turkey and Western Persia. These are, of course, less reduceable to rule, than the others, as it respects *whole* journies: but may be taken on the whole at 26 to 30 B. miles, by the road; and in *direct* distance, from 18 to 23 G. miles. For single hours, applied to geographical construction, about $2\frac{2}{3}$ G. miles *direct*. It must be observed, that *travellers* only *walk* their horses; although the *Tatars* (or couriers in Turkey,) ride post.

3. *Caravan* Journies. Camels on the *Arabian* desert, on short intervals, make about 16 G. miles *per* day, in *direct* distance: but on long ones, only from 15 to $15\frac{1}{2}$. Mules 17 to 18. The hourly rate of camels, on the road, is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ British miles, only; giving in *direct* distance, about $2\frac{1}{8}$ Geog. miles, across the desert.

M. Niebuhr favoured the author with routes of caravans in Asia Minor, by which it appeared, that on 376 hours of travelling, on the different roads, the general mean was 2,23 G. miles, *direct*; or only just short of $2\frac{1}{4}$. These caravans are

supposed to have been composed chiefly of horses and mules; but no doubt, with an intermixture of camels. The rate, which is above that of camels, may be accounted for, by Professor Carlyle's account of his journey through Asia minor. After *long journies*, they waited some hours for the coming in of the camels, with the baggage. Now, as the loaded caravans only make journies of about 8 hours, the camels would not probably be more than 4 miles behind, at the close of the caravan day's journey; or perhaps, may set out earlier, than the horses and mules, in order to come in with them.

4. The Mean *Marches* of *Armies*. As so much has been already said, in the preliminary chapter, concerning this subject, it may only be necessary to say, in this place, that they are taken at 14 to $14\frac{1}{2}$ British miles, by the road; and in *direct* distance, if for a very few marches, 11 G. Miles each; but on a considerable number reckoned together, as one line of distance, about $10\frac{1}{2}$. For further particulars respecting the marches, see page 5, *et seq*.

It will, doubtless, occur to the traveller, that in the construction of his map, the proportion of the *direct* distance, to *road* distance, must be subject to *different* rules, when given in TIME, than when given in ITINERARY MEASURES of any kind. For the *time lost*, by ascending and descending hills, will, in most cases, substract more from the direct distance, than what arises from the mere *inequality of ground*. Thus, for instance, by the ascent and descent of a hill, no more than $\frac{1}{10}$ of a mile, in point of *distance*, may be lost; but as much *time* may be lost by it, as would have carried a person, more than twice that distance over even ground. And when lofty and difficult *mountains* occur, it is impossible to give any rules.

These computed distances, whether obtained by itinerary measures, or by time, are still to be regarded as *comparative*, only: since in most cases, the *positive* quantity of distance, must be regulated by the space, between the two extreme points of the line of distance, on the map. Absolute distance can only be obtained, by the means of celestial observations; or by lines of distance, extended between places, so determined; and which lines have been regulated by the mean of many reports; and have also been subjected to a variety of lateral checks, in order to ascertain the points in which they vary from right lines.

ADDENDA.

I. Concerning the Itinerary Measures, employed by Xenophon. [Refers to p. 5, *et seq.*]

A CIRCUMSTANCE seems to shew, that Xenophon gave his statement of the length of the daily March, on the authority of the Persians; although the account has, no doubt, been since corrupted, in many places.

At ordinary times, he gives the number of parasangas, *positively;* but on the day of the battle of *Cunaxa*, he expresses himself differently. For in lib. i. c. 44, he says, that the Camp of the preceding day, (and to which they returned, the next night), " *was said to be* " 4 parasangas from the field of battle.

This surely implies that the length of the March in question, rests on a different authority from that of the others: and that previous to the battle, Xenophon had been in the habit of obtaining from the proper officer, the statement of the distances: (see the note to page 6) but that the change of circumstances had rendered it no longer practicable. For had the length of the marches, to that time, depended on the judgment of Xenophon, he would have been equally able to decide on this one; perhaps better, as he went *twice* over the ground.

II. Note on the Mean Marches of Armies. [Refers to pages 5 and 6.]

THE Author flattered himself, that he should have been enabled to exhibit in detail, and on the very best authority, the rate of marching, performed by the imperial Russian armies, during their memorable marches in 1815; from Doubno in Little Russia, and from Riga; to Manheim and Mayence, respectively: marches of more than two to three months, including the necessary halts. The acquisition of the necessary documents, was highly desirable, in order to prove the zeal and energy, with which the ranks of those armies advanced, in order to meet and to encounter, with the utmost promptitude, an enemy whom they regarded as having broken his faith, with the GREAT PUBLIC; and whose power was only to be employed, as the scourge of mankind. It is said, that the Russian commanders found it necessary to restrain the ardour, with which their troops were advancing, in order to prevent their finally sinking, under the fatigue of the march.

Unfortunately, the author could only obtain the dates of the departures and arrivals of those armies; together with the days, on which they passed through certain of the principal places, in their route: but without any specification of the number of *halting days*. Of course, the materials so obligingly communicated by General Count Michel Woronzoff, are incomplete, in respect of obtaining the desired result, of the length of the *mean march;* although the distances are regularly given, throughout.

The only use therefore that can at present be made of those tables of marches, is to endeavour to arrive at some kind of *approximation* towards the mean march, by allowing such a *proportion* of *halts* as has usually obtained in the marches of the Imperial Russian armies; combined with the peculiar circumstances of the case in question. It is highly probable, that no other halts were made, than were necessary to the well being of the troops, and to the preservation of the draught cattle, which accompanied them.

It has been stated to the author, by his excellency General Count Woronzoff, that the Russian armies, in time of war, generally march four days, and halt on the fifth. (In time of peace they march three, and halt on the fourth): but if necessary, in time of war, they march 5 or 6 days without halting; as happened in 1812, during its retreat; and afterwards, in pursuit of the French army, during the same winter. The army of Count Langeron employed an interval of 69 days, between the date of its leaving Doubno, which was the 7th of April, and its arrival at Manheim, on the 15th of June. If the ordinary rate of marching, in time of war, be taken, that is, one halt in five days, the number of marching days will be 55. The distance marched, is given by Count Woronzoff, at $195\frac{3}{4}$ German miles; each of which being equal to 4 geographic miles, there will arise 783 geographic miles, equal to about 905 British: and the result will be 16,45, or nearly $16\frac{1}{2}$ British miles for each march: which is *full two* miles more than has been considered as a *mean* march, throughout the present work.

But if it be true, that the universal sentiment amongst the troops, was, as before stated; and that they had been allowed to proceed according to the rate, said to be adopted, in cases

of emergency; that is, to march 5 or 6 days consecutively, without halting; such a proportion of halts, would give a mean march of 15,44, or $15\frac{1}{2}$ British miles; which is still *one* full mile above the length adopted. Where the truth lies, it is impossible to tell: but one fact is certain, that taken either way, this Russian march exceeds the result, arising from the mean of all the numerous examples of marches, collected by the author.

The other army under General Paskewitch, left Riga on the 25th of March (1815), or 13 days previous to the departure of the other from Doubno; and arrived at Mayence, the 28th of June, 13 days after the arrival of the other, at Manheim. The interval therefore, was 95 days. If here, the ordinary rate, in time of war, of one in 5, be taken, 76 marching days will remain. The distance set forth by the same authority, is $222\frac{1}{4}$ German miles; but as there seems to be an error between Glogau and Leipzig, of 6 such miles, too little, the real distance will, of course, be $228\frac{1}{4}$, equal to 913 geographic miles, or about 1055 British,* and the proportioned mean march, will be under 14 such miles (13, 88). But if the proportion of halts be taken at one in 6 or 7 days, the result will be no more than about $13\frac{1}{4}$, which appears improbable.

In fact, the author is totally in the dark, respecting the details of these celebrated and important marches; as well as of the appointments of each of those armies; and which may have very materially affected their progress, as well as the proportion of halting days.

However deficient these documents may prove, in respect

* About 100 miles short of the length of the road from *Ephesus* to the field of *Cunaxa*.

of shewing the length of the mean march, yet they afford a satisfactory proof of the due proportion adopted, between the *road* and the *direct* distance, in a general view. M. D'Anville had long ago determined that $\frac{1}{9}$ part should be deducted from *road* distance, generally; or, which is the same thing, $\frac{1}{8}$ added to the direct distance. The author had also adopted the same proportion, after a long experience.

It is obvious that this rule cannot be expected to apply on very long lines of distance, such as those just mentioned, of 900 and 1000 miles; because that in so great an extent of country, some obstacle will oppose itself, and change the general course of the road. The author's method has therefore been, to divide any long line of distance, into portions of 80 to 120 miles, as the most diverging points of the road, presented themselves: and then to take the whole sum, collectively, as the *straight line* intended. It is on this ground, that the $\frac{1}{8}$ is calculated.

It appears then, that between Doubno and Manheim, the direct line, drawn as above, was in the proportion of one in 8,85 shorter than the trace of the road. On that from Riga to Mayence, it was only one in *ten*. (See also the note to page 317).*

* General Count Woronzoff was pleased to communicate to the author, a system of marching, adopted by the late Marshal Count Souworoff; and which, from him, obtained the name of Souworoff's *careless*, or *easy* March; meaning that the troops were free to march without any kind of order or restraint, save that of keeping together, in their respective corps. As it appeared to the Author to be curious, and little known, he has given it here, in the Count's own words.

" At the end of every ten *versts*, they halt about one hour, and then proceed. They
" have besides, two halts of 4 hours each, in the 24 hours; one for dinner, and the
" other for rest, at night. In this manner, and particularly if the halts occur in con-
" venient places, the army may continue marching, without any exhaustion, a whole

It was not till after the book was printed, that the author examined the history of the famous march of the Great Duke of Marlborough, of six or seven weeks, from Brabant to the field of Blenheim, at the Danube, in 1704. The character of this march, was not that of one made at leisure, but rather the contrary: for it is said that "General Churchill was very "expeditious, in following the Duke (his brother); though "in such a manner as not to over-fatigue the troops."* The Duke had gone before with the cavalry, with a view to prevent a junction of the French with the Bavarians; leaving the infantry, &c. to follow.

It is not easy to collect from military histories in general, the particulars necessary to the purpose of forming an accurate conclusion, respecting the *mean* length of the marches, made during any of the expeditions recorded in them. In the just mentioned march, such particulars are more commonly wanting: so that, it is only between *Coblentz* and *Great Gardach* (near *Hailbron*), 13 days, that the necessary information is to be found.

The halting days during this interval of 13 days, were 3 in number; and the marching days, consequently, 10: and on these ten arises a mean of less than 14 British miles per day.

"fortnight together; and nothing in the world can surpass the expedition of such a "kind of marching: for then one may safely say, that the troops will march from 40 "to 45 versts in 24 hours."

This may account for the wonderful marches, made by Marshal Souworoff, in Germany, Italy, &c.

* "The method he took, for this end, was, to begin his March, every morning, by "break of day, and encamping in their new camp, before the heat of the meridian "sun incommoded them; so that the remaining part of the day's rest, till the next "morning at day break again, was almost as refreshing as a day's halt." (This was in May and June). Lediard's History of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. page 192.

In that part of the march previous to their arrival at *Coblentz*, although no clear result can be obtained, yet the rate may easily be perceived to be much the same, as beyond *Coblentz*.

After the separation of the Cavalry, at *Great Gardach*, the progress of the infantry is not reported in detail, during the long separation that followed.

On the whole, nothing is more certain, than that the Duke of Marlborough's march to Blenheim, does not exceed, if it even comes up to, the standard assumed for the mean march.

III. Concerning the Inundations of the Euphrates, in the quarter between Feluja and Baghdad. [Refers to the *hollow tract* left by a former course of the river, page 76, line 10.]

Mr. Rich observes in his Memoir, page 13, that "the most "remarkable inundation of the Euphrates, is in the line be- "tween Felugiah and Baghdad." This is precisely the line of the hollow tract, intended in that place; in which the inundation is said to have "a depth sufficient to render it navigable "for loaded rafts, and flat bottomed boats."

IV. Concerning the depth and rate of motion, of the Euphrates; explanatory of the subject of the Canals, &c.

[Refers to page 80, line 6]

It appears also by the same Memoir, page 13, that the Euphrates at Hillah, has a depth of 15 feet, when its waters are

low; and it appears that between Rûmkala and Beer, at about 700 miles above its mouth, it was 10 feet deep, when low.

Mr. Rich states the rate of motion of the stream, through the site of Babylon, to be about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile *per* hour, when lowest; 3 when swoln. Between Beer and Rûmkala, it was judged to be somewhat more than $2\frac{1}{2}$: and Mr. Irwin reckoned it at 3, in the quarter between Annah and Erzi. Both of these reports have a reference to the seasons, when the river was low.

*** The Ganges was found to be 30 feet deep when low, at a place 500 miles from the sea. Its current was taken at a rate, below 3 miles per hour, at the same place, and in the same season: and it is probable that most capital rivers, flowing through alluvial tracts, run at the rate of between $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 miles per hour, when clear of the *tides-way*; and in the absence of floods.

V. Note on a passage in the Anabasis, concerning the river Tigris: omitted in its place, p. 88, line 13.

Whilst the Greeks yet remained on the field of *Cunaxa*, on the evening of the day after the battle, Clearchus assigns as a reason for not marching to attack the king, (lib. II. c. 5) that "between them and the king lay the *Tigris*, a navigable "river, which could not be passed without boats; and those "they had not."

According to the present geography, it appears that the *proper* Tigris, could not have been intended; but doubtless,

there was a river in the question: and it is probable that the *Didgel* or *Lesser* Tigris was that river. However, the king's fears must have been very great, to have carried him so far out of the way of the Greeks.

It is indeed impossible to know what the exact course of the Tigris was at that day; but as Pliny (lib. vi. c. 27) describes the separation of the Tigris into two branches, at *Apamia*, 125 M. P. short of Seleucia; and their reunion, after forming the *Mesene* of *Mesopotamia*; the Didjel, which must have been one of those branches, of course existed at that time: and it is probable, that Pliny wrote from Macedonian statements; made perhaps within a century or two, after the time of Xenophon. The Didjel may have been a river of much greater bulk and depth, at that time, than at present: for it is now inconsiderable in breadth; and also fordable. It may probably be considered as an ancient course of the main stream of the Tigris: and which, ever since the change, has been diminishing: examples of which are to be found, in most great river.

VI. On the great elevation of the point of view, from whence the sea was first seen by the Greeks, from M. Theches, or Teke. [Refers to the note in page 249.]

It being now known, from Mr. Browne, that the plain of Erzerum itself, is about 7000 feet above the level of the sea; whilst the ground on which the castle of Teke stands, rises in a mountainous chain above it, (that of *Agatsbashi*,) it is probable that Teke itself stands at an elevation of an English mile and half above the Black sea. Of course, the view from

the crest of that ridge, must be very extensive; and the report of Hajykalifa, that "from its great elevation, the "weather is so severe that in some years they have no har-"vests;" appears very probable.

VII. Concerning the period of swelling of the Euphrates.

[Refers to page 278.]

Mr. Rich says, (memoir, page 13,) "In the middle of the "winter the Euphrates increases a little, but falls again, soon "after: in March it again rises, and in the latter end of April "is at its full, continuing so, till the latter end of June. The "most remarkable inundation is at Felugiah, 12 leagues to "the westward of Baghdad; where, on breaking down the "Dyke which confines its waters, they flow over the country, "and extend nearly to the banks of the Tigris.* On May "24th, 1812, laden rafts were brought from Felugiah, to "within a few hundred yards of the northern gate of Baghdad."

In respect of the first particular, the partial swelling in winter; this being at the same season with a like swelling of the Tigris, reported by M. Niebuhr, is probably owing to a similar cause; the winter rains.

With respect to the time of the first rising and filling of the Euphrates, one may conclude that Mr. Rich had been misinformed. Mr. Eyles Irwin, who travelled along it, during 5 or 6 days in the beginning of April, and crossed it at Annah; says (writing on the first day of that month,) "the "Euphrates is now expected *to begin to rise*."

It does not therefore appear probable that it should arrive

* See page 76, line 8, for the hollow tract, &c.

at its height, during the course of that month; any more than that it should continue in that state, during an interval of two months. But the fact of its being in flood, on the 24th May, is however established, on the personal knowledge of Mr. Rich; and appears probable in itself.

Mr. Ives's party were told on the 6th of May, whilst in the *Marshes* of *Semowha*, that the river did not commonly overflow the *Marsh Lands*, so soon.

Pliny appears to have believed that the principal floods of the Euphrates, were in the early part of July; and that the river was fallen to its ordinary state, by the middle of September. (lib. vi. c. 26.)

INDEX.

[The names in Italics are those mentioned in the ANABASIS.]

A.

Page

Aba or Abi Mt. (Armenia) - 211
Abdulkurreem - - 127
Abrocomas - - - 112
Abu-Bekir-Ben-Behram, his Geography of Anadoli, or Natolia - - vi.
Abulfeda - - vii, 80, 207
Abutaleb - - 126, 127
Achaians, land at *Calpé*, 264. Cut off by the Bithynians - - - 265
Adiabene - - - 151
Ægææ (Ayasse) - - - 41
Ælian - - - 186
Agamana - - 104
Agats, or Agatch-Bashi, (mountains of the Moschi) - - 244, 248
Agatch-Degniz - - 248
Agatsh, (Turkish itinerary measure) 318
Aggarkuf - - 78, 98
Agri-dagh (or Ararat) - 162, 210
Aineada (Thynias) - 268
Akbara - - 126, 128
Aklat - - 207, 208
Akliman - - 261
Akshahr - - 28, 34
Aksou river, (the *Teleboas* of Xenophon) 207, 212
Ala-dag, or mountains of Ala, 210, 212, 217
Alalis - - - 62
ALEXANDER, his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias; his gracious aid, in the contribution of geographical documents - - - xx
Alexander, his long marches in pursuit of Darius, 6, 7. Founds the city of Nicephorium, 63. Is supposed to have crossed the Euphrates near that place (Racca) *ibid.* Fords the Tigris near the Zaco hills, 155, 174. Sails up the Tigris to Opis, 126. 127. Mentioned, 24, 42, 53, 63, 154,

Page

Alexandria (near Issus, or Alexandretta 53
Alexandretta (See also Scanderoone) 57
Almamoun, (Caliph) measures an arch of the meridian, in the desert of Sinjar 70
Amanus, mountains of, 39, 40, 42, 43, 51, Passes of - 40, 41, 42, 56.
Ammianus Marcellinus, describes Isauria as a maritime country (meaning Cilicia Trachea), 33. Describes the great abundance of palm trees in Babylonia, 79, 117, 118, Describes the Median Wall in ruins, 97. His Observations on the Desert of Mesopotamia, 100. Saw the Mound of Trajan, near Hit, 102. Speaks of the Bitumen Fountains, 108. And of the Wine and Honey made from the Date Fruit 118, 122
ANABASIS, the most interesting part of ancient Military History, 1. Requires much geographical illustration, 2. Great errors in its numerals, 8, 29. Contains much information respecting the œconomy and management of the Grecian armies, 14. Written long after the events took place 17. Fitted to inspire confidence in our own resources, 286. Contains useful lessons, applicable to common life, 287. Proposal for the Improvement of its Geography, 291 *et seq.* Different travellers to examine such portions of it, as may fall within their respective tours, 293. Mode of taking the direction of the routes, without a magnetic compass, 312 *et seq.* On the computation of distances, 316 *et seq.* Their application to tabular geography, 320, 321, 327.
Anabil or Enabil - - 38
Anadoli, a portion of Asia Minor vi
Ancyra (Anguri) - - 38
Andabilis, or Andavilis (Anabil) 38
Anga - - - 104
Anguri (Ancyra) - - 38
Ani - - 226, 237

Page

Annah - - - 101
Anthemusa - - 63
Antioch, plain of, - 65, 66
Anti-Taurus - - 33, 209
Antonine Itinerary - - 21
Apamia Cibotus - - 23, 24
Apollonius Rhodius - 261
Apsarus river, (Shorak) - 248, 254
——— boundary of Colchis - 254
Arabia, geographical arrangement of, according to the Greeks, in the time of Xenophon - - 70, 100
Arakali (*Heraclea* of Pontis) - 262
Ararat M. - - 162, 210
Arash, or Aras, river, (the *Phasis* of Xenophon) 210, 217, 225, 226, 227, 230, 231, 307.
Araxes river (of Armenia), the same with the last article.
Arbela - 131, 153, 154, 155
Arcadians, land at Calpé, 264. Are cut off by the *Bithynians* - 265
Archelais Colonia - - 36
Argæus M. - - 249
Argonauts, land on Cape Jason 261
Ariæus - - 89, 90
Armenia (western) 204. Highly elevated in point of level, 205. Armenian winter houses - - - 219
Armies, Grecian, remarks on - 16
——— Their mean rate of marching, 5 *et seq.* - - - 320
Arrian, 43, 53, 64, 77, 181, 186. His Periplus of the Euxine Sea, 254, 255, 258, 260
Arsanius river of Lucullus, the *Teleboas* of Xenophon, (Ak-sou of the Turks,) 207, 211
Artaxata - - 207
Artaxerxes, Mnemon - 112, 200
Arzen, or Erzen river, (the Tigris of Xenophon) - - - - 204
Ascanias lake - - 24
Ashkly, or Ishakli - - 24
Asiatic Princes fond of employing Europeans in their military service - xv
Asiatic Thrace - - 262
Assee village - - 154, 157
Atoe-sou, or Halys river - 263
Assyria - - - 39
Auxiliary Grecian force with Cyrus, not formed into one command - 138
Ayasse (Ægæ or Ægæas) - 43

B

Babylon, - 79, 83, 93, 302
Babylonia, Cyrus' marches through it, 86, 87. State of, in the time of Xenophon, 117. Lakes of - - 76
Baggage placed within the hollow square 142
Baghdad bridge, 98. Has succeeded that of *Sitace* - - - *ibid*
Baiæ (Bayas) - - 53
Baibort valley - 244, 245, 247
Balakez lake - - 226
Balbi, Signor, 62, 65, 78, 84, 92, 98, 103, 104
Banks, Sir Joseph - xxii, 118
Baratha (Bour) - - 38
Barbalissus, or *Belesis* (Baulus) - 68
Bartin, or Partin river (Parthenius) 263
Bathys (Batum) - - 244
Baulus - - - 68
Bayad (Beudos Vetus) - - 23
Bayazid - - 190, 210
Bayas - - 43, 53, 54
Beauchamp, M. De, his Voyage to, and Observations made in, the Black Sea vii, 254, 258, 261, 262
Beaufort, Captain, surveys the southern coasts of Asia Minor, &c. - vii, viii
Beawes, Mr. - - 57
Bedlis or Bitlis, 195. Its pass, 196. Its river taken for the *Centrites*, 201 *et seq.*
Begras (Pagris, or Pagræ) - 42
Belesis (Baulus) - - 68
Beudos Vetus (Bayad or the ancient) ix, 23
Bezabde - - 155
Billæus river (Falios) - 263
Bisanthe or Rodosto - 267
Bithynians - - 264, 265
Bitumen Fountains - 108
Blagden, Sir Charles - - xxii
Bligh, Admiral William, undertakes a voyage of 3600 miles across the Ocean, in a small boat, and succeeds - 287
Bosphorus of Thrace - 269
Bostan (Comana of Cappadocia) - 33
Bour (Baratha) - - 38
Browne, Mr. - - xxi, 331
Bulawadin, (or Dinæ) - 23
Burckhardt, Mr. his account of the making of Palm wine in Nubia, - 119, 121
Burgess, Sir James - - xxii
Bylan pass, - - 41, 67
Byzantium - - 265, 266

C.

Cabbage of the Palm-tree - 118
Cœnæ (Senn) at the Tigris 126, 129, 169
Cæsarea Mazaca - - 44
Callinicum - - - 63
Calpé described - 264, 265

Page
Camalis (Gaugamela) - 154
Camels, rate of travelling of 319, 320
Canals of Communication, between the Euphrates and Tigris - 77 *et seq.*
——— crossed by the Greeks between the truce villages and Sitace - 95
Cappadocia - - 44
Caprus river, (the lesser Zab) 129
Carchamis (Circesium or Karkisia) 70
Carduchian mountains, 151, 162, 163, 165, 189, 205. Passage of the Greeks across them, 172, 194, 199. The ancestors of the present Kourds, 169. An historical fact concerning the Carduchians, 200
Carlyle, Professor - - 320
Carmande, taken for Hit, 107, 108, 122, 169
Cartwright, (or the Preacher) his travels, 195, 197
Castabala - - 296
Cataonia - - - 39
Cavalry, the Greeks equip a small body of, during the retreat, which are of vast importance - - 144
Caucasus - - 230
Caystrus, plain and city of, 26, 29, 30, 31, 34
Celænæ, position and description of, 23 *et seq.* Cyrus's first place of rendezvous, 25. Supposed to have occupied the site of Sandukly - - 23
Centrites river, the Greeks cross it, 199. Its course and description, 201 *et seq.* Supposed to be the river of Bedlis *ibid*
Cerasus or *Cerazunt*, 257, 258, 259, 260, 262. Called also Pharnacia. (The present Kirason).
——— probably meant for Coralla, 259. Review at - - 259
Chabora's or Khabour river (the *Araxes*) 70
Chalybians or Chaldæans 233 *et seq.*
Chalybians, at the Euxine 233, 258
Chalderan, plain of - 234
Chalus river (the Koik) - 65
Chandler, Dr. - - 23
Chaoi (people of Khanoos) - 213
Cheirisophus, joins Cyrus at Issus, 50. Commands in the van of the Greek army, Xenophon in the rear, 223. Attacks the Colchian army, in concert with Xenophon, 252. Marches with a division of the army from Heraclea of Pontus to Calpé, 264. Dies there, 265.
Chorsene (Kars) - - 243
Chrysopolis (at the Bosphorus) 265
Cicero, his position in order to defend the two passes of mount Amanus - 42
Cilicia, pass of, over the Cilician Taurus, 38, 44. Description of it, by Xenophon, and Quintus Curtius - 44, 45
Cilicia Campestris, its description by Xenophon - - - - 47
Cilicia Trachea (afterwards Isauria) 32, 33
Circesium (Karkisia) - 70
Clarke, Captain - - ii
Clearchus, joins Cyrus at Celænæ, 25. Insulted by the soldiers of Menon, 108. His credulity led to the Massacre of the Generals at the Zabatus, 135. Became Commander-in-Chief of the Grecian Auxiliaries after the death of Cyrus, 138. Had been regarded as virtually such by Cyrus 139
Cliffs, overhanging, arrest the progress of the Greeks, along the bank of the Tigris, 167, 304
Colchis, the proper country of that name, 255
Colchian Mountains 245, 247, 248
——— attack of, by the Greeks, 252
——— villages, in which the honey was found - - - 252
Colchians, plundered by the Greeks 254
Colossæ - - - 21, 22
Comana of Cappadocia (Bostan) 33
Comasour (regarded as Gymnias), 236 *et seq.*
Commerce, ancient, by the Euphrates, and Desert of Arabia - 104, 105
Compass, magnetic, substitute for, 312 *et seq.*
Cook, Capt. James - 197, 220
Coralla (Korabali) - 259
Corbulo, places the source of the Euphrates, 211
Corsote, 86, 101. Description of its supposed site; that is Erzi - 103
Cotyæum (Kutahiah) - 28
Cotyora, the Greeks halt there, 45 days, 233, 260
Cretan bowmen, their important use, 198
Croesus, supposed place of his defeat, by Cyrus - - - 34
Ctesiphon - - 80, 83
Cunaxa, position of, in respect of Babylon, 93 *et seq.* 301. Battle of, 114. Lost, through Clearchus's want of knowledge of oriental warfare, 114.
Curtius, Quintus, his description of the pass of Cilicia - - 44, 45
Cybistra - - 45
Cydnus river - - 47
Cyrus, the younger, his Grecian auxiliaries consisted chiefly of select men, 17. His designs discovered early by Tissaphernes, 20. The early part of his route calculated to deceive the king of Persia, *ibid.* His

progress from Sardis to Celænæ, 21. Review of his forces at Celænæ, 25. Progress from Celænæ, by Peltæ, the Kramians, and Tyriæum, to Iconium, 26 *et seq.* His route through Lycaonia, and Cappadocia, to Dana or Tyana, 36, *et seq.* Gains the pass of Cilicia, or Tyana, 46. Progress through Cilicia to Tarsus, 46. Delayed 20 days at Tarsus, 47. Gains the Maritime pass between Cilicia and Syria, 54, 55. Progress through Syria from Myriandrus, 59. At Thapsacus 69. Enters Mesopotamia, and crosses the Araxes, or Khabour river, 70. Enters the desert of Mesopotamia, or Sinjar, *ibid.* Progress through it to Corsote, Carmande, and the Pylæ, at the entrance of Babylonia, 71, 72. Through Babylonia, to Cunaxa, 86, 88. Slain in the battle of Cunaxa, 88.

Cyrus, plain of, near Sardis: probably named from Cyrus the Great, 21. A second plain at the foot of the pass of Tyana; named from the younger Cyrus, 46.

Cyropædia - - 134

D.

Dana, properly Tyana - 45

D'Anville, M. i, x, 61, 68, 98, 212, 214, 227, 231, 234, 235, 240, 268.

Dar, or El Dar, (Thapsacus) 61, 65

Daradax, fountain of, (Fay) 60, 61, 67, 68

Dates, or fruit of the Palm trees, 118. Season of ripening - 278, 279

Days' journey, mean length of 12, 319

Deällah river - - 126

Degnislu - - 22, 23

Delisle, M. 211, 212, 214, 215, 228, 230, 240

Deli-baba - - 217

Della Valle, Signor - 90, 219

Delta of *Thrace*, 267. Its position 268

Demirkapi - - 297

Derbesak, (taken for Sochus) - 66

Dercon or Derkous - - 268

Desert of Mesopotamia or Sinjar, 70, 71, 130 Level Desert, 71, 100. Hilly Desert, 71, 106. Arabian Desert, 104, 105, 106. Fortified posts in it, for the benefit of the caravans, in former times - 105

Diadin - - 210, 212, 215

Diodorus Siculus, vi, 45, 62, 97, 113, 192, 213, 218, 233, 237, 238, 249.

Distances in Itinerary Measures, and by time, 10, 11, 318. Mode of computing by time, 316 *et seq.* Their application to Geography - - 317, 320

Distance, direct, its general proportion to road distance - - - 317

Diyarbekir, valley of 151, 196, 201, 204

Dokhala, - - 126, 127, 303

Drilians - - - 260

Drummond, Mr. 53, 54, 57, 277, 299

Dryander, Mr. - - xxiii

E.

Ecbatana - - 127

Edrisi - - - vii, 29

Effendi Ibrahim. See Ibrahim.

Eldred, Mr. - - - 278

Emir-dag - - - 33

Epistbenes - - 224

Eragiza (Rajik) - - 68

Eratosthenes - - 240

Erekli (erroneously supposed to be Archelais' Colonia - - 36, 44

Erzerum, its elevated situation, xxi. Mentioned - 212, 215, 227, 331

Erzi, or Irsah, (taken for *Corsote*,) 103, 104

Euphorbium - - 24

Euphrates, river, (meaning the confluent stream formed by the Frat and Murad,) account of, 74. Has changed its course in the part towards the sea, since the date of history, 75. Runs on a higher level than the Tigris, above the site of ancient Babylon; but the contrary below it, 76; whence the tide ascends highest in the Euphrates, *ibid.* Time of its periodical swelling, 77, 276, 332. No apparent change in its course in the quarter where it approaches nearest to the Tigris, 83. Many ruins of towns and castles near its banks, 104. Generally avoided by Caravans in modern times, 105. Time when lowest, 277, 332. Mentioned, 60, 68, 70, 72, 103, 300, *et seq.* Further account of the Euphrates, in the Addenda. Its Inundations, No. III. Depth and rate of Motion, in different parts of its course, No. IV. Its periodical swellings, No. VII.

Euphrates of Xenophon, or eastern branch above Taurus, named the Murad. (See Murad.)

Euphrates, western branch, or Frat. (See Frat.)

Evers, Captain - - 84, 85

F.

Farsang, the same denomination with the ancient *Parasanga*, but much longer 4, 31, 318,

Page
Fay Fountain, taken for the source of the Daradax of Xenophon 60, 68, 69
Feluja, the port of Baghdad 85, 93
Followers belonging to an oriental army, return of the numbers of - 112
Foodal-baba mountains, (the Lycaonum Colles of Strabo). - - 33
Forster, Dr. his Geographical Dissertation on the Translation of the Anabasis, by Spelman - 64, 66, 110, 284, 285
Forum of the Kramians, (Kutahiah or Kermian) - - 26, 28, 30, 31
Frat, the western (or rather northern) head of the Euphrates, 211, 215, 221, 227. Joins the Murad, or eastern head, above Anti-Taurus, 209. Gave name to the Euphrates - - 211

G.

Garpa or Kirpe (the port of Calpé) 265
Gates of Syria and Cilicia, (Maritime pass) 39, 50. Description of, by Xenophon, 51. Modern Descriptions of the Ground, 52 *et seq.*
Gaugamela (Camalis) - 153, 154
Genetes and Genetæ (Janik) 261, 262
Geography of the Anabasis, together with the ancient and modern geography of that part of Western Asia, traversed by the Greeks; proposed method of improving, 291 *et seq.*
Geulek, pass of - - 44, 45
Gillies, Doctor, xxi, 16, 17, 41, 175, 182
Gindarus - - - 41
Gosselin, M. - - 240
Greeks (meaning the Grecian auxiliaries of Cyrus), consisted chiefly of select men, 17. Statement of their numbers, when reviewed at Celænæ, 25. Review of at Tyriæum, 34. Pay of, 47. Increased at Tarsus, *ibid.* The last reinforcement at Issus, 50. Review of, previous to the battle of Cunaxa, 87, 110. Their retrograde march after the death of Cyrus, 88, 89. Their treaty with the Persians, 90. Set out with Tissaphernes, on their return towards Iönia, *ibid.* Could return only by the north, 131. Massacre of their Generals by the Persians, and consequent distress, 135, 136. Encouraged by Xenophon, 137, and confidence restored, 138, 139. Begin their celebrated Retreat, from the river *Zabatus*, 140. Improve their military disposition and order of march, 147 *et seq.* Steal a march, 161. Their battle with the Persians on the hills
Page
of Zaco, 157. Dislodge the enemy from the heights in their front, 166. Their progress arrested by the overhanging cliffs, of the Tigris, 167. Ascend the Carduchian Mountains, 170 *et seq.* Remarks on the change in the military disposition, during the Retreat from the Zabatus to the Carduchian mountains, 175 *et seq.* Their route difficult to trace after they left the Tigris, 189, *et seq.* Their erroneous ideas of the geography, 191, 194. Cross the *Centrites* river, and proceed through *Western Armenia*, 199, 203. Cross the river *Teleboas* (Ak-sou), 207. First villages of refreshment in Armenia, (Yezidkoi), and the first fall of snow, 215, 216. Cross the Euphrates (that is the Murad or eastern branch), in the district of Khanoos, *ibid.* Their sufferings and extreme distress, from the severity of the weather and want of necessaries, 216 *et seq.* Second villages of refreshment, north of the Euphrates, 217 *et seq.* Deserted by their guide, 223. Wander about 21 days, when they find themselves at the river *Harpasus* (or Harpa-sou), 224 *et seq.* Their route not traceable *ibid.* Return from the *Harpasus* to *Gymnias*, 224 *et seq.* Supposed cause of their long wandering, 239, *et seq.* View the sea from the summit of mount Theches, or Tekè, 245, 250. Force a passage over the *Colchian* mountains, 252. Admirable disposition for the attack, *ibid.* Arrive at *Trebisonde*, 254. Subsist themselves there a month, chiefly by plundering the mountain Colchians, *ibid.* March thence to Cerazunt, 257; and Cotyora, 260 (not being able to collect ships enough to receive the whole army). Being supplied with ships at Cotyora, the whole army embarks, 261. Touch at Harmene, a port of Sinope, *ibid.* Arrive at Heraclea of Pontus, 262. Separate into three divisions: one under Cheirisophus, goes by land to Calpé; the others by sea, 264. The division of Peloponnesians suffer a great loss in Bithynia, 265. The three divisions again unite, and obtain a complete victory over the Bithynians, *ibid.* March uninterruptedly to Chrysopolis, at the Bosphorus of Thrace, *ibid.* Pass over to Byzantium, 266. Driven out of Byzantium by the Lacedæmonian governor; and 400 of their sick men left there, sold for slaves, *ibid.* Compelled to take service with Seuthes, a Thracian prince; with whom they make a

Page
winter campaign of two months, 266, 270. Engaged to join the national army of Greece, under Thimbron, 270. Statement of their numbers, 272 *et seq.* At Cunaxa, 273. At the Colchian mountains, *ibid.* At Cerazunt, 273, 274. And at Heraclea, 274. Great diminution of the light troops, 274. About one half of the original number finally remains, 275, 284. None lost during the campaign with Seuthes, *ibid.* The Expedition employed two full years, 284. Dates of the Transactions, 285.
Greek miles - - 11, 318
Griffith, Dr. - - 21
Guide deserts the Greeks, in Armenia 223
Guides, remark on - 240
Gumish-kend, or the silver-mine 244, 249
Gwiam, or Kahim ; a ruin - 104
Gymnias, 235 *et seq.* Supposed position of, at Comasour or Kumakie, 236. The Guide from thence undertakes to shew the Greeks the sea in five days, 243. Believed by some to be situated on the river Shorak or Apsarus - - 246

H.

Hajy Kalifa, his Geography of Armenia, &c. vi, vii. His account of the source of the Murad river, 210, 211. Description of its course, 212. Of Khanoos, 218. Of the Harpa-sou, 226. Of Passin, or Phasiana, 227. Plain of Chalderan, 234. Description of the province of Tekman, 244. Of the mountains of Agatsbashi, or Moschi, *ibid.* Of the valley of Baibort, 245. Of the pass of the Colchian mountains, 251. Cited 214, 250.
Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages and Travels, 106, 278
Halicarcara - - - 219
Halys river - 33, 261, 262, 263
Hamrun mountains - - 130
Hammer, M. - - vii, 210
Harmene, (the sheltered port of Sinope, now Ak-liman,) - - 261
Harpasus, or Harpa-sou rivet, 225, 234, 241
Hassankala - - 227, 230
Hatra - - - 102
Hawkins, Mr. - xxii
Heniochi - 254
Hermas river - - 101, 102
Herodotus, 55, 104, 119, 121, 122, 194, 235, 240
Heraclea of Pontus 262, 263
Page
Heraclea at the Propontis (*Perinthus*) 266, 267, 268, 271
Hierapolis (of Phrygia) - 21, 23
——— (of Syria) - 68
Hieron-orus (or Yoros promontory), 238, 244
Hillah, bridge of - - 78
Hit (*Carmande* of Xenophon), 84, 85, 102 107
Honey of the Palm tree, in Babylonia, 118, 121, 122
——— of Colchis, from the flowers of the Rhododendros - 253, 254
Horses of Khanoos, remarkable for their swiftness, 218. Khanoos supposed to be the place where Xenophon saw the horses, bred for the king of Persia, *ibid.*
Howell, Dr. 151, 152, 154, 155, 156, 158

I.

Jackson, Mr. - - 127
Jacob's Well (near Scanderoone) 57
Janik (Pontus) - - 262
Jassoun, or Yassoun, (*Jason*) a promontory on which the Argonauts landed 261
Ibrahim Effendi, his map of Persia, made at Constantinople, 213. Another of the Euxine, 258.
Iconium (Kuniyah) - 26, 34
Jerusalem Itinerary - 38, 46
Jesidian, or Yesidian, villages 216, 306
Jeudi mountains, (*Carduchian,*) 162, 163, 165
Jezirah, (or Mesopotamia,) - 75
Jezirah-ibn-Omar, 125, 151, 152, 161, 165
Jiabar (Dauser) - - 62
Ilgoun - - 28, 34
Imk (Immæ) - - 66
Inglis, Mr. - - xxii
Jonas pillars (at the Maritime pass) 54
Jones, Sir Harford - xxii, 73
Jorus, or Yorus (Hieron-orus) 244
Journies of Caravans, &c. 319, 320
Ipsus - - - 31
Iris, river - - 263
Irwân (vulg. Erivan) - 226
Irwin, Mr. - - xxii, 77
Is, or Hit - - - 107
Isa canal - - 78, 80
Isauria, originally applied to a part of *Pisidia*, adjacent to the north of *Taurus*, 32. Afterwards applied exclusively to Cilicia Trachea - - 33
Isidore of Charax - 63, 83
Issus, (Oseler) - - 42, 48

Page
Issicus Sinus - 39, 40, 57
Itinerary Measures, referred to in the course of the work - 10, 11, 318, *et seq.*
Ives, Mr. - - - 98
Julian - - 70, 118

K.

Al Kadder (castle) - - 105
Kæmpfer, M. - 120, 279
Kahim, or Gwiam - - 104
Kanis (See Khanoos)
Karadjy-dag, (or M. Masius) 162, 165, 195
Karahissar, Aufium, (Prymnesia) 30, 31, 34
Karabolat, a name of Issus - 297
Kara-sou river - - 212
Kars - - 220, 243
Kasaki - - - 235
Kermian (Kutahiah and Kramians) 28
Kersus, river, (the Mahersy) 51, 54, 298
Keshier Dag - - 32
Khanoos, vi, 212, 213, 214, 218, 221. Taken for the Chaoi of Diodorus, 213, 306.
Khabour river *(Araxes)* 61, 64, 70, 101
Killis - - - 43
Kirason (Cerasus or *Cerazunt)* 255, 262
Kirkpatrick, General - - 6
Kirpé or Garpa *(Calpé)* - 265
Kisariah (Cæsarea Mazaca) - 38
Koban Kupri - - 225, 232
Koehler, General - - 24, 28
Koik river, (the *Chalus)* - 65
Al Kom (fountain) - - 105
Konous *(Colossæ)* - - 23
Korahbali (Coralla) - 259
Kourds *(Carduchians)* - 195
Kourdistan (country of the Carduchians), 169
201
Kuniyah *(Iconium)* 20, 26, 28, 30, 33
Kurnib river - - - 159
Kutahiah, (or Kermain : *Kramains)* 28, 30

L.

Ladik, (or Jorgan Ladik) Laodicea Combusta 31
Laodicea Combusta (Ladik) 27, 31
——— ad Lycum - 21, 23
Larcher, M. his translation of the Anabasis, xi. Blames Xenophon for not exposing the conduct of Clearchus at Byzantium, 13. His remark on the camp market of the Lydians, 106. His Translation of a particular passage in the Anabasis, 107. Another on the approach of the army of Artaxerxes, 114. On the cabbage of the palm tree, 118. Another on the march through the desert, 122. Appears to have been mistaken respecting the tents, 168. And also in the place of the ford of the Euphrates, in Armenia, 214. His map on the whole, the best that has appeared, 236. His remark on the attack of the Colchian Mountains, 253. Mistakes the Lycus river 262. Appears to have mistaken the numbers of the Greeks, at *Cerazunt*, 274.
Larissa - - - 145
Leake, Major - - xxii
Lewis, Captain - - ii
Lochos, and Lochagos - 185, *et seq.*
Lucas, Paul - - 29
Lucullus - - 202, 260
Lycaonia (Kuniyah) - 53
Lycus river (of Phrygia) - 21
——— (of Assyria) - 129
——— (of Bithynia) - 262

M.

Machelones (of Arrian) probably the *Macronians* of Xenophon and Pliny - 255
Macis M. (Ararat) - 162, 210
Macronians - 245, 246, 247
Mæander river, 21, 23. Its source at *Celænæ*, 42
Mahersy river, the *Kersus* of Xenophon, 51, 52, 53, 54. The best guide to the place of the Maritime pass - 298
Malazkerd - - 210
Malcolm, Sir John - - 11
Manea (ruin) - - 104
Manlius (Consul) - - 23
Mantinea (battle of) - 143, 186
Marches of Armies, mean length of, 5 *et seq.* 10, 12, 323. Remarks on those recorded in the Anabasis, 8. Reputed length of a day's march in Greece, 9. Marches of Cyrus and Xenophon, table of - xxviii, xxix
Maritime pass, at the gulf of Issus, 39, 40. Description of - - 50, 53
Market Camp (or Ordu-Bazar), in use in the east, in ancient times as well as the present 106
Marsden, Mr. - - xxi
Maryandini - - - 262
Masca river, (or Saocoras) 101, 102
Masius M. (Karadjy-dag) 63, 151, 152
Massacre of the Greek Generals, at the Zabatus - - 137
Media, Desert part of, according to Xenophon - 124, 126, 128, 129

Page
Media, Wall of - 90, 91, 96
Meinder river, *(Mæander)* - 23
Mémoires sur l'Egypte, 254, 258, 261, 262
Menon joins Cyrus with Auxiliary Greeks at *Colossæ*, 25. Escorts the Queen of Cilicia across mount Taurus, 37, 43, 47. Mentioned, 109, 139.
Merkes, castle, at the Mahersy river 52
Mesene - - 117
Mesjidi mountains (Moschi) 245, 248
Mesopotamia, 70. Desert of, named from Sinjar, *ibid*. Inclosed by the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, 75. Geographical arrangement of, by the early Greeks, 100. Only known by that name after the Macedonian conquest, *ibid*.
Mespyla - - 145, 146
Messis (Mopsuhestia) - 48
Messogis, mountains of - 21
Midya (*Salmydessus*) - 267
Miles, Geographic, British, and Roman, 10. Arabic, 11. Greek, *ibid*, and 318. Turkish 318
Military Disposition of the Greeks, during their Retreat, 142. Improved, 147 *et seq*. Observations on, 175, 188.
Missionaries, New Memoirs of 244
Modaïn, the two cities of Ctesiphon and Seleucia, at the Tigris - 83, 125
Moosh (Moxoene), 207. Plains of, 208, 212
Mopsuhestia (Messis) - 48, 49
Morier, Mr. James, vi, 210, 212, 213, *et seq*. 227. Determines the position of the source of the Murad river, or Eastern Euphrates, 210
Morier, Mr. David - - xxii
Moschi, mountains of 206, 244, 245
Moses of Chorene - - 162
Mosul, 125, 147. Bridge of - 141
Mosynæcians, 259, 260. Of Brutal Manners, 260
Murad river, or eastern branch of the Euphrates (that of Xenophon), source of, 209 *et seq*. Joins the Frat, or western branch, above Anti-Taurus, *ibid*. The Euphrates of Strabo and Pliny, 211. Its general course, 212. Crossed by the Greeks in the quarter of Khanoos, 215. Not ill described by Ptolemy, 221.
Myriandrus, its bay filled up, and its site several miles inland - 55 *et seq*. 299

N.

Nahrawan - - 162, 164
Nahr Malka (or the Royal river), 78, 80, 102,
Page
Natolia (properly Anadoli), a part of Asia Minor - - - vi
Nazerya strait (not the Pylæ of Xenophon), 84
Niebuhr, M. communicates much important information, respecting Asia Minor, Syria, &c. iii, iv, ix, 38. Points out the position of Issus, ix, 48. Gives some particulars relating to the Euphrates and Tigris, 78, 79: and the bridge of Baghdad, 98. His account of the country near the Tigris, 129. Describes the place of junction of the mountains of Kourdistan and Karadjy-dag, 152, 162, 165. Gives useful routes, which materially aid in placing of Khanoos and Yezidkoi, 216. His account of the swelling of the Tigris in winter, 276: and of routes in Asia Minor, 319.
Nicephorium (Racca), founded by Alexander, 63
Nicephorius, (river of Tigranocerta,) 201, 202
Nineveh - - 131, 146
Niphates, mountains - 195, 207
Nisibis (Nasebin) - 63, 101, 102
Nubia, or Nuba - 119, 122
Numbers of the Grecian Auxiliaries—reported at Celænæ, 25: previous to the battle of Cunaxa, 110: at the Colchian mountains, 252: at Cerazunt, 259, 273: and at Heraclea of Pontus, 263, 264. Great diminution of the light troops, 274. About half their original number remaining, when they joined Seuthes, 275.

O.

Olivier, M. - - 86
Omiras river (Murad) - 211
Opis, a doubtful position in geography, 124 Placed according to the report of Xenophon, in reference to *Sitace*, 124, 126. Alexander sails up to it, 126. A principal city in the time of Xenophon, 128.
Orontas, treason of - - 109
Orontes river - - 65, 66
Oseler, taken for ancient *Issus*, ix. Its name first known from M. Niebuhr, ix, 48, 49
Otto, M. - - viii. 258

P.

Pacatiana, Phrygia - - 28
Pagris, or Pagræ (Begras) - 41, 42

Page
Pallacopa - - 77
Palm Trees, 117 *et seq.* Palm Fruit or Dates, 118, 278, 279. Palm Wine, 118, *et seq.* 159. Honey of the Palm, 118, *et seq.*
Palmyra, English travellers to, point out the Fountain of Fay; or the *Daradax*, xi. xii. 60, 68, 69.
Palou (a ford over the Murad) 215
Paludes - - 76
Paphlagonia, of Xenophon, more extensive than that of later times - 261
Parasanga, the same denomination with the modern Farsang; but shorter, 4. That of Xenophon, three Roman miles, 4, 11. Aggregate number marched by the Greeks, 7, 8.
Parorias Phrygia - 31, 32, 33, 34
Parthians - - 200, 271
Parthenius, river (*Partin* or *Bartin*) 262, 263
Parysatis, villages of - 128
Pass of Cilicia, or *Tyana*, 33, (See also Cilicia).
Passin (*Phasiana*) - 213, 227
Patriotism, universally diffused 271
Pay of the Greeks - 47, 270
Peloponnesians, more than half of Cyrus's army, composed of - 273
Peltæ (Peloti) - x. 26, 29, 30
Pendarachy (Heraclea of Pontus) 262
Père Avril - - 208
Pericles, oration of - 15
Perinthus (Heraclea at the Propontis) 266 *et seq.* 271.
Periplus of Arrian (see Arrian).
Persians, character of, 134. An unmilitary custom of theirs, 161.
Pharnacia, the same as Cerazunt, or Cerasus, 260
Pharus, a mistake for Sarus, - 48
Phasis, river (of Colchis) - 230
——— of Armenia (the Araxes or Arash), 213, 227.
Phasis and Cyrus of Ptolemy, their sources ought to change places in the map, 230
Phasiani (or people of Passin), 213, 227
Philadelphia (Allashahr) - 21
Philomelium - - 27, 34
Philosophical Transactions - - 67
Phrygia Pacatiana - - 28
——— Parorias - 31, *et seq.*
Physcus river (of Opis) - 126, 127
Picinini, Dr. - - 22
Pictanus (Bylan) - - 67
Pieria M. - - 41, 42, 56
Pinarus river (the Deli-sou) 42, 297
Pisidia - - 20, 23, 32, 33
Pliny ascribes the founding of Nicephorium, at the Euphrates, to Alexander, 63. Extends Arabia into Mesopotamia, and to Singara or Sinjar, 100. Reckons the Peninsula of Asia Minor 100 Roman miles too narrow, 194. Places the source of the Euphrates (Murad) in mount Aba, on the report of Corbulo, 211. Names the Murad, Omiras, *ibid.* Places the *Macronians* at the river Apsarus, 245. Speaks of the Genetæ, as a people, 261, 262.
Plutarch - - 93, 200
Pocock Dr. 22, 24, 31, 43, 52, 53, 54, 277
Proxenus - - 109, 138
Ptolemy, 40, 68, 101, 104. His idea of the course of the Eastern Euphrates, or Murad 221.
Pylæ, of Babylonia 72, 73, 83, *et seq.* 301
Pyramus river, (Jehan) - 48, 49

Q

Quintus Curtius, his description of the Pass of Cilicia - - 44, 45

R

Racca (Nicephorium and Callinicum) 63
Ramadan Oglu, a name given to a part of the Cilician Taurus - 43
Rauwolf, Dr. - 100, 101, 103
Rhodian Slingers, important services of, 144, 145.
Rhodian, a, proposes a scheme for wafting the army across the Tigris, 167, 181
Rhododendros, remarkable quality of its flowers - - 253
Rich, Mr. his interesting account of the remains of Babylon, 80. His report of the breadth of the Euphrates, at Hillah, *ibid.* Of its depth and rate of motion, 329
Season of its swelling - 332
Rivers in Western Asia, frequently preserve their ancient names - 226, 263
Rodosto, (ol. Bisanthe) - 267
Russell, Dr. Patrick - 42, 54
Russian Map of 1800, quoted 226

S.

Page

Sacasena (Kasaki) - - 235
Sackariah River (Sangarius) 253, 264
Sacopodes (Zaco) - 151, 159
Sagalassus - - 23, 24
Sakli (or Seleukter) - 34
Salmydessus (Midya) 267, 268. Shipwrecks frequent there; and the cause, 269. Books amongst the articles cast on shore, *ibid.* The Natives mark their respective boundaries, to prevent disputes concerning the property of the wrecks, *ibid.*
Samarra - - 130
Sandukly (*Celænæ*) - 23, 24, 28
Sanni, M. - - 206
Saocoras, or *Masca* river 101, 102, 103
Sarus river (the Seihan) - 48
Scale of itinerary measures 10, 11
Scanderoone (or Alexandria), near Issus, 53. New land there, formed from alluvions, 57
Scythinians - - 243
Seasons in which the events in the Anabasis took place, 275, *et seq.* Table of Dates, 285.
Seert, Sered, or Ziarat, (Tigranocerta) 195, 201, 202.
Seihan river, (Sarus) - 48
Seleucia (at the Tigris) - 80, 83
Seleukter (or Sakli) - 31
Senn (*Cænæ*) at the Tigris - 129
Sestini, Abbé, - 151, 156, 161
Seuthes, a Thracian prince, engages the military service of the Greeks, 267. Their winter campaign of two months in Thrace, 267, *et seq.* His barbarous policy, and ill-faith with the Greeks, 270.
Shat-al-Arab, or river of the Arabs, meaning the united stream of the Euphrates and Tigris - - 75
Shaw, Dr. - - 121
Sherefeddin, historian of Timur 207
Shooting backwards in retreating, a practice of the Persians before the Parthian dynasty 145
Shorak river, (the Apsarus) 245, 248
Sinjar (Singara), 100, 101. Desert of (or of Mesopotamia) - 100, 101
Sinope (Sinub) a Milesian colony, 254. Singularly situated - - 261
Sitace, at the Tigris, placed, 82. Its canal, 97. Bridge at, 98, 132.
Smirnove, Rev. Mr. - - xxiii
Snow, the first of that season seen by the Greeks in Armenia, 208. Great delays occasioned by it, 216, 217.
Sochus, (supposed to be Derbesak) Page 66
Spelman, Mr. his Translation of the Anabasis, almost entirely followed in the present work, xi. Mentioned 107, 110, 118, 122, 274.
Square, or hollow square, in which order the Greeks retreated from the Zabatus; at first of an equilateral form, 141, *et seq.* Changed for an oblong form 147, *et seq.* Remarks on this change, 175, *et seq.*
Stade, of Strabo's scale - 11
Strabo not aware of the existence of the maritime pass under mount Amanus, 40. Describes the position of the lower pass of Amanus, 41. Gives the length of the bridge of Babylon, 79. His idea of the position of the wall of Media, 96. Describes the Murad as the Euphrates, 211. Cited 27, 31, 33, 34, 39, 55, 66, 71, 128, 211, 230.
Sullivan, Mr. describes the ground, generally, along the eastern bank of the Tigris, between Jezirah, ibn-Omar, and the site of Nineveh, iv. v. 151 *et seq.* His description of the Zaco hills, 153, 155. Further descriptions of the ground, 161, *et seq.* Remarks the lights in the temple on the mountain of Jeudi; the Ararat of the Mahomedans, 162.
Sultan-dag, a branch of Mount Taurus, 33
Sydratæ - - - 254
Synnada, (the ruins at Herjan, taken for its remains) 23, 24, 27, 31.
Syria, Gates or Passes of, 39, 51, 52, 53, 54
——— Progress of Cyrus through it, 59, *et seq.*
——— Geographical Arrangement of, according to the Greeks, in the time of Xenophon, 70, 100.

T.

Table of Marches, of the Ten Thousand, xxviii
——— the distances between Tarsus and Alexandria (Scanderoone) - 49
——— Dates of Transactions and Events, &c. 285.
Tahoskari (Taochians) - 230
Taochians - - 230
Tarsus - - 44, 46, 47
Taverniere, M. - - 21, 219, 249
Taurus, parallel ridges of, towards the interior of Asia Minor, 31. Cilician pass over Taurus, 38, 44. Pass of Geulek, over Taurus, 44. Taurus possessed by the

Page

Kourds 169. The Carduchian mountains, a portion of Taurus, 195. As also Niphates, 205. 207.
Taurus Cilician - - 33, 43
Tchichagoff, Admiral - - xv
Tekman, a province of Armenia, which contains the castle of Teke, or Theches, 244. Exceedingly elevated, *ibid.*
Teke, castle of, on the mountain, named *Thecbes*, by Xenophon, position of, 244, *et seq.* 247. Its distance from the sea, and from Trebisonde, 244, 249. Supposed elevation above the Black Sea, 331.
Teleboas river, the Arsanius of Lucullus, and the Aksou of the Turks, 204, 207, 211, 212.
Tents, used in making floats to cross the Euphrates, 108. Destroyed in order to reduce the baggage, 142, 168.
Teribazus, Satrape of Armenia, his treacherous conduct, and defeat, 205, 209, 215
Texeira, Peter, describes the Plain of Antioch and ascent of M. Amanus, 66. Traced a portion of one of the canals of the Euphrates 78. Notes the breadth of the Tigris river, 79. Remarked the strait of Nazerya, at the northern bank of the Euphrates, 84. Also an Eminence near the Euphrates in the supposed quarter of Cunaxa, 94. Saw herds of wild asses on the opposite side of the Euphrates to that where Xenophon saw them, 100. Saw the Bitumen in universal use in the quarter where it is produced, 108. Observed the almost total ruin of the Canal of Communication, between the Euphrates and Tigris, 117.
Thapsacus, its position, 60 *et seq.* Taken for El Dar, *ibid.* Xenophon appears to have transposed the distances, between the *Daradax* and *Thapsacus; Thapsacus* and the *Araxes*, 60, 61. Thapsacus a ford, and an important passage over the Euphrates, 63. Alexander appears to have crossed the Euphrates higher up, *ibid.* The names, both ancient and modern, signify a passage, 64. Distance between Thapsacus and Babylon, according to Strabo, 71.
Thecbes, M. - 244, *et seq.*
Theodosian Table, 21, 23, 24, 27, 38, 68
Theodosiopolis, (Hassan-kala) 230
Thermodon river (Tarmeh) 261, 262, 263
Thermopylæ, the ground much changed at, 52
Thevenot, M. 98, 129, 132, 277, 278, 279
Thimbron - - 270, 284

Page

Thrace, Asiatic - 262
Thracians, European - 267
Thucydides - - 143, 186
Thymbrium - - 26, 34
Thynians of Asia, (or Asiatic Thracians) 264
——— Europe - 268
Tigranocerta (Seert) - 195, 201, 202
Tigris river, its general course, 74 *et seq.* Anciently gained the sea through a separate channel, from that of the Euphrates, 75. Measure of its periodical swelling, 77. Too deep to be forded undér the Carduchian mountains, 167. Eastern head of the Tigris, 203, 204. A circumstance relating to it not clearly understood, . 330
Timur - - - 208
Time, distances ascertained by, 318, *et seq.*
Tissaphernes, penetrates the designs of Cyrus very early, 20. Commands the Persian army which attended the Greeks, as their pretended escort to Iönia, 90 *et seq.* Leads the Greeks into a desert, wide of their proper route, 129, 130. Meditated treachery, 132, *et seq.* Entraps and massacres their chief Generals at the Zabatus, 135. Pursues and harasses the Greeks during their whole retreat to the Carduchian mountains, 144 *et seq.*
Tmolus, mountain - - 21
Toddy, a liquor drawn from the Palm Trees, by incision - - 119
Tournefort, M. his instructive and entertaining Travels afford materials also, for the correction of the geography of the northern parts of Armenia, &c. 225 *et seq* His information respecting the Harpa-sou or Harpasus of Xenophon, 226; the river Arash, or Phasis, 227; and the roads in the quarters of Kars and Trebisonde, 232, 237, 248. His observation on the weather in Armenia, 241. His route from Trebisonde to Erzerum, 248. Crosses the Colchian mountains, 251. Remarked the Rhododendros Plants, from whose flowers the honey which occasioned intoxication, was made, 253. His travels contain descriptions of Trebisonde, and of Heraclea of Pontus, 254, 262.
Trajan, his fleet descends the river from Nisibis to the Euphrates - 102
Transposition of pasages, in the Anabasis, 60 *et seq.* 261, 262.
Trebisonde, or Trabezon (Trapezus) a colony of Sinope, 254. Its hospitable reception of the Ten Thousand, *ibid.* Its mo-

Page
dern state described by M. Tournefort, and by M. de Beauchamp, in the Mém. Egypt. vol. 2, *ibid.*
Trench, made by the King of Persia to cover the baggage, &c. 94, 97. Explained, 113
Tumulus of Stones raised on Mount Theches, 251
Turkish miles, 318. The same scale with the Greek miles and Russian werst, *ibid.*
Turpakala - - - 213
Tyana (or *Dana*), valley of, 33, 36. City of, its position, 37. Its pass (that of *Cilicia*), 38, 44, 45. Seized on by Cyrus 46. (Called Dana by Xenophon : originally, Thoana, according to Arrian.) Mode of correcting its position, 295.
Tyriæum, Review of Cyrus's Army, there, 26, 27, 34. (Tyriarium of Strabo).

V.

Vallies elevated, of Mount Taurus, through which the route of Cyrus, lay, 31 *et seq.*; Isauria, 32; Phrygia Parorias, *ibid*; Lycaonia, 33; Tyana, *ibid.*
Villages of Refreshment, on the north side of the Euphrates, 216, *et seq.* On the south, (i. e. Yezidkoi) 215, *et seq.*
Volney, M. - - - 57
Uskoe, Rev. M. - - xxii

W.

Wan or Van - - 196
Werst, Russian, the same with the Greek and Turkish mile - - 318
Wilkins, Dr. Charles - 258
Winter, severity of, in Armenia, 216, *et seq.* in Thrace, 283.
Wine of the Palm, account of, 118, 119, 120
Winding of Roads, observations on, 319, *et seq.*
Woronzoff, Count - xv, 327

X.

Xenophon, his History of the Expedition of Cyrus, and Retreat of the Ten Thousand, describes the most splendid of all the military Events, recorded in Ancient History, page 1, *et seq.* His scale of Itinerary Measures and Marches considered, 3 *et seq.* Blamed for not censuring the conduct of Page
Cyrus, &c. 12 *et seq.* Wrote the Anabasis long after the events, which it records, 17. Appears to have been misinformed, respecting the canals leading from the Euphrates to the Tigris, 79. His description of the Battle of Cunaxa, 113. Also of the Palm Trees, and their fruit, 118. His remark on the defects natural to the military defence of Persia, 128. His speech on occasion of the Election of new Generals; which, together with his personal exertions, restores confidence to the army, 138, 139. Supplies in a degree the want of cavalry, and of effective light troops, 144. His description of the Battle on the hills (of Zaco), 156. *et seq.* Leads a detachment to dislodge the enemy from the eminences in front of the army, 166. Commands the rear, in the ascent of the Carduchian Mountains, 171. His description of the Winter houses in Armenia; and of the proceedings of the army there, 219. Appears to have been a man of great feeling, 224. Describes the affecting scene on occasion of the first view of the sea, from Mount Theches, 250. Changes the order of battle on occasion of the attack of the Colchian Mountains, 252. Conducts one of the three divisions of the army from Heraclea of Pontus to Calpé, 264. On the way relieves the Arcadians and Achaians of the army, who were besieged by the Bithynians, and in danger of being totally cut off, 265. His description of Calpé, *ibid.* Prevents the plunder of Byzantium, 266. Commands the Greeks during the campaign with Seuthes, 267. Carries the army to Thimbron in Asia Minor, 271. Compelled through want to sell his favourite horse by the way. *ibid.* Is finally enriched by a capture, *ibid.*

Y.

Yassoun or Jassoun, (Jason) Cape of 261
Yezidkoi, or village of the Jesidians; (the first place of refreshment of the Greeks in Armenia,) 216, 219.
Yorke, Right Hon. Charles - viii

Z.

Zab, rivers, the greater and lesser, 75, 125, 129. The greater, the *Zabatus* of Xeno-

Page
phon, 124, 126: and the Lycus of the Ancients, generally, 129. Reckoned equal to half the bulk of the Tigris, 141. The lesser Zab the Caprus of the Ancients, 129; but is not mentioned by Xenophon, 67.
Zabatus, the greater Zab, 129, 141. Massacre of the Grecian Generals there, 135. Crossed by the Greeks in the face of the Persian army, 140.
Zaco hills, a ridge projecting from the Kourdistan or Carduchian mountains, and shutting up the plain to the banks of the Tigris, 149 *et seq.* Description of, 155, 156. Battle on, 157, 158.
Zaco Town, situated under the northern flank of the ridge, 158.
Zerke, or Kala Zerke, a place situated on the *Centrites* of Xenophon - 201
Zeugma, a passage over the Euphrates, in Comagena - - 63
Zosimus - - - 107

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

London: Printed by W. Bulmer and Co.
Cleveland-Row, St. James's.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek
MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Rennell, James,

Illustrations, (chiefly geographical), of the history of the expedition of Cyrus, from Sardis to Babylonia, and the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, from thence to Trebisonde, and Lydia with an appendix, containing an enquiry into the best method of improving the geography of the Anabasis,

London 1816

4 A.gr.b. 1316
urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10216448-8